THE EMPIRE OF CHRIST

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The Empire of Christ

BEING

A STUDY OF THE MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

BY

BERNARD LUCAS

AUTHOR OF 'THE FAITH OF A CHRISTIAN'

"For East is East, and West is West;
And never the twain shall meet."
. . . . . .
But Christ is Christ, and rest is rest,
And love true love must greet.
In East and West hearts crave for rest;
And so the twain *shall* meet,
—The East still East, the West still West,—
At Love's nail-piercéd feet.

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PREFACE

This book is an attempt to re-state, in terms which are in harmony with our altered theological thought and our changed social outlook, the old but abiding responsibility of the Church for the salvation of the world. It is an endeavour to make distinct and definite that vision of empire which was in the mind of the Church's greatest seer, when he gave expression to the first century's anticipation of the final century's realisation, and formulated for her the phœnix song of her ultimate triumph—"The kingdoms of this world have become the empire of our God and of His Christ." The picture which is here presented has been painted under a Western sky, with the shifting clouds and expanding stretches of blue, which are characteristic of our present theological thought. The landscape, however, is Eastern, taken from the India of the author's acquaintance, and requires, therefore, to be looked at with a due regard to relativity. Feeling the attraction of the

new theological thought, he has tried to be sympathetic to the old; though critical in regard to some of our present methods of work, he is keenly appreciative of the results and of the efforts of the past. He trusts that both those who agree with, and those who differ from the views here set forth, will alike recognise a sincere attempt to inspire the Church with a loftier ideal, and evoke a more adequate attempt at the realisation of her supreme mission—the salvation of the world.

July 1907.

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CHAPTER I

THE MODERN PROBLEM

It has become more or less of a commonplace that if missionary interest is to be deep and strong in the churches it must be intelligent, and efforts have been made to supply much needed information to enable the supporters at home to realise the conditions of the work abroad. It is undoubtedly true that the average supporter of the missionary enterprise to-day is a far more intelligent supporter than his predecessor ; but it is no exaggeration to say that the missionary enterprise appeals with less force to the Church as a whole than it did fifty years ago. Then the Church knew less but felt more, now it knows more but feels less. It is not that fuller knowledge has produced lessened feeling ; it is that other influences have been at work which have produced a different mental outlook, to which the missionary appeal has not yet adjusted itself. If any one compares the religious thought and feeling of the age which gave birth to the modern

missionary enterprise with that of the twentieth century, it will be obvious that the missionary appeal needs a new presentation, if it is to meet with an adequate response. The religious beliefs and sentiments to which the old appeal was addressed have practically ceased to exist in the Church of to-day ; and though the elect few have replaced them with others equally or even more powerful, the great majority have not, and have consequently ceased to respond. The religious thought of the Church has broadened, but the religious feeling has not proportionately deepened. The narrower thought cut deeper channels in the feeling of the Church, with the result that her energy in the direction of saving the individual soul from the realistic hell in which she verily believed was far more in evidence. In any average Christian assembly of to-day, the old appeal based on the alleged fact that every second so many immortal souls were passing away into eternal punishment, would be more likely to revolt the Christian conscience than to evoke any corresponding missionary enthusiasm. Whatever may be the belief of individuals or of individual churches, the Church, as a Church, no longer believes it. The old belief was one which was real, and it found a response in feelings which were sincere. The Church faced the problem as it understood it, and however much we may repudiate the belief, we are bound to honour the

response of the heart to the conception of the mind.

The change in the belief has been due, not to merely destructive influences, but far more to constructive ones. The Church does not believe less than she did, but more. The old conceptions which have dropped off, have been pushed off by the vigour of more life. The thought of the Church is not poorer than it was but richer, its feeling is not narrower but broader. The current is less strong in the old channels, but the volume is greater, and has overflowed the old boundaries. The missionary enterprise needs a fresh presentation adapted to the changed mental standpoint; and when the Church understands the altered aspect of her unaltered responsibility, she will yield an increased response of feeling proportioned to her increased conception of truth.

One of the deepest and most far-reaching influences which has changed the formulated belief of the Church is the different conception of the character of God which is dominant in modern theology. The Fatherhood of God, with all that it implies, is not a modern discovery; but the dominant position it occupies in modern Christian thought is the distinctive feature of the theology of to-day. In the older theologies the conception can be found by searching; in the newer it is evident on every page. In the older thought it was one of several attributes of God; in the newer

it is the essential conception of the Divine nature. Perhaps the most important difference between the two is the influence the conception has produced upon our newer thought, not in regard to the character of God, but in regard to our view of the nature of man. To the modern mind the Fatherhood of God is not a mere metaphor to express an attitude of the Divine mind ; it is the revelation of an essential relation between humanity and God. The immanence of God, which is so much emphasised in what is called the new theology, is a term which tends to remove religion away from the ethical into the philosophical and metaphysical region. It was eminently suited to the Greek mind, but it is very doubtful whether it is suited to the modern mind. The religious conception which it seeks to emphasise is better expressed for the majority of men by the idea of the Fatherhood of God and the Divine sonship of man. There will doubtless be the same controversy between the old and the new theology whatever terminology is used, but the gain to religion will be the greater if the ethical rather than the metaphysical aspect of the question receives the emphasis.

Apart altogether from any controversy between the old and the new theology however, we have to recognise that the gradual assimilation of the conception of the Divine Fatherhood has effected an immense change in the religious thought and

feeling of the present age. Humanity has suddenly more or less come to itself, and the first effect has generally been, not the sense of its sin, but of its wretchedness. The note of self-pity, resentment, and even reproach, which is characteristic of much of our modern literature, is traceable to the influence of this sudden realisation of man's true nature and dignity. Like the prodigal in the parable, it is the contrast between the actual and the ideal, the present destitution of the son and the plenty of the Father's house, which is the first outcome of serious thinking. Even within the Church the old terms in which humanity was described are indignantly rejected both as untrue and as unworthy. All this is not the result of the decay of faith ; it is the evidence of a truer insight into the real nature of man, and a deeper appreciation of his innate worth.

In the light of this altered conception the problems of human destiny and of the education of the race have undergone corresponding changes. It has become impossible to believe that millions of God's children have been and are passing away into endless torment without a single chance of redemption, or that the Divine Father has limited the revelation of Himself to an infinitesimal section of the race, utterly unmindful of the lot and destiny of the rest. The same mind cannot retain such opposite conceptions. If the missionary appeal is to come home to us, therefore, it must

be stated in terms which do no violence to what we believe to be truer and more worthy conceptions both of God and of humanity. Our pity for the non-Christian races, and our solicitude for their salvation, cannot be aroused by a consideration of their lot and destiny which is inconsistent with our truer knowledge of God and man, and of the relation between them. That truer conception must furnish its own basis of appeal, or we shall not feel the appeal.

With the altered conception of the essential nature of God there has followed an altered conception of His providential dealing with the race. We have come to recognise that salvation is a much greater and far more reaching purpose on the part of God than our fathers conceived it to be, and that throughout the whole family of man there has been a vast preparation for this great purpose of the ages. We have come to recognise an election of races for particular ends, as well as an election of individuals. Other races besides the Jewish have been chosen to contribute their part towards the final consummation. The Roman, the Greek, and the Teuton have each contributed their quota to the evolution of that form of religious life and thought which is characteristic of the West. The study of comparative religion has shown us that the East, the birthplace of religion, has still further contributions to make to the religious life and thought of

the world. While this is true, it is at the same time equally true that the altered standpoint has had an adverse influence on the missionary enterprise. The Church has not realised the nature of the relation Christianity sustains to the full evolution of the religious thought and life of the world. The superficial thought of those outside the Church, which is expressed in the opinion that the religion of each race is best for that race, and that therefore it is a mistake to interfere with it, has more or less affected those within the Church as well. When to this feeling is added the exaggerated conception of the religious value of certain non-Christian religions, based on the translation of some of the more choice religious works of the East, the missionary enterprise is in danger of being regarded as a question of mere proselytism, which is fatal to its supreme claim upon the conscience and devotion of the Church.

A further change which has had a deadening influence on the zeal of the Church is the different place which the conception of sin occupies in modern thought. The older conception of sin as the result of a single act of rebellion on the part of Adam carrying with it the total ruin of the race, which was the dominant note in the older theology, has receded into the background, even where it has not entirely disappeared. We have come to feel that such a conception is inconsistent with the facts of life, when that life is

interpreted as part of a great cosmic process. The fact of sin remains, but it has not yet been fitted into the larger scheme of things, which the acceptance of the evolution theory has made a necessity for modern thought. Whether what has been called the fall of man should be more accurately described as a rise, is not here under discussion; it is the change of thought on the whole question of evil, with its accompanying change in the conception of salvation, which is here referred to in its relation to the missionary problem. The old conceptions both of sin and of salvation have lost their emphasis, so that the words do not evoke the same feeling as they once did. When the newer thought has sufficiently crystallised, it will probably be found that as regards the truer meaning of life, both sin and salvation have acquired a deeper meaning, to which the missionary enterprise will make a stronger appeal and evoke a greater enthusiasm. At present however, the appeal has not been re-stated in terms which meet the altered thought, and the enthusiasm of the Church has suffered in consequence.

Another influence which has had a considerable effect in relegating the missionary enterprise to a subordinate position, is the result which has been produced in the thought of the Church by the altered view of the Scriptures, due to the application of the critical method. Apart altogether

from the immense change in the theology of the Church which the critical method has produced, it has temporarily dulled the sense of responsibility for giving this revelation of God to the rest of the world. Under the older view, in which the Bible was regarded as the sole revelation of God, the sense of responsibility was more keenly felt. It was regarded as the veritable word of God, dictated by God Himself, in which the human element was of so infinitesimal a nature as to be negligible. Apart from the Bible the world had no revelation of God, and therefore, if salvation were to be obtained, the Church must see to it that this supreme message was made known to all nations. The critical method has changed all this. It matters not what proportion of the results of criticism is accepted as established, the method has already established itself, and the thought of the Church, and especially of those outside the Church, has been radically altered. It is not a question as to how far this altered conception, when rightly interpreted, leaves the missionary enterprise unaffected. We have to face the fact that the old standpoints have changed, and the problem must be stated afresh so that it may appeal to the new standpoint.

Accompanying these changes in the religious thought and feeling of the West, there has been an even greater alteration in our knowledge of the East. The older conception grouped all the

non-Christian races of the world together, and labelled them all indiscriminately as heathen, retaining more or less of the original feeling associated with the word, as a description of ignorant and uncivilised barbarians. The result has been that the Church's Eastern question has been entirely misconceived by the Home Churches, and more or less inadequately handled by the missionaries she has sent abroad. The Home Churches have expected results amongst a civilised and cultured people similar to those obtained amongst rude barbarians. Methods have been advocated and adopted, which, however excellent as far as they went, are totally inadequate to the accomplishment of the Church's task in the East as we now know it. The result has been that while we have successfully transplanted Western religious thought into a few isolated patches of Eastern soil, we have but very imperfectly attempted the great task of Christianising the East. It is the latter however, and not the former which is the true mission of the Western Church, and it is the difference between the two which marks the true distinction between a mere proselytism and a true evangelism.

No disparagement whatever of the work that has been accomplished is here intended, nor is any reflection cast upon the immense work which has been accomplished by the devoted men and women who have laboured in the mission cause in India.

The point here urged is that the real problem has not been grasped, and the measures have consequently not been adequate to the task. We have attempted the task of winning India for Christ as though it were a country of barbarians, whereas it is a country of civilised and cultured people with a submerged tenth of barbarians. To this submerged tenth Christianity has necessarily appealed, and they have seen in it an emancipation unknown and undreamed of before. We have taken a very liberal tithe of these depressed classes, but we have left almost untouched the weightier and more influential bulk of the community. No complaint is here made as to what we have done, but attention is drawn to what we have left undone. Our success has been strictly in proportion to the measures we have taken and the means we have employed. We have preached a Gospel to the "heathen," and the heathen have accepted it as tidings of great joy; but we have to a very large extent failed to preach a Gospel to the Hindu as a Hindu, and he has consequently left us severely alone. It must of course be understood that this statement of the case needs qualifying before it can be accepted as an absolutely correct representation of fact. The contrast is presented in the sharpest outline, that its reality may be clearly seen. Qualifications would obscure the real issue. In our judgment of what has been accomplished, the qualifications should be insisted upon, but in

our estimate of the task that awaits us, they may be safely left out of account.

Our knowledge of India and our experience of missionary work have both modified our conception of the problem of the Christianisation of India. We no longer call the Hindu a heathen, and we no longer ignore his religion and philosophy and social organisation as factors of no importance. We have come to know that when our forefathers were pure barbarians, his were in the highest stage of civilisation. We have come to see that behind the stocks and stones to which he bows down, there is not the blindness of ignorance, but the distortion of inadequate knowledge. We have learned to recognise that the caste system to which he so tenaciously clings, is not the unreasoning prejudice of the narrow mind, but an arrested attempt at the organisation of society on lines which recognised the unity of the whole and the reciprocal relation of the parts. The missionary of the twentieth century therefore, has a very different outlook from that of his predecessor of the nineteenth century. He enters into the work and organisation which have been bequeathed him with very different conceptions of the nature of the task which confronts him. They have laboured, and he has entered into their labours, but their respective standpoints are not the same. He is full of appreciation for the zeal and faithfulness with which they confronted their task, but he

feels that loyalty to the task is more important than loyalty to methods.

> New occasions teach new duties,
> Time makes ancient good uncouth;
> They must upward still and onward,
> Who would keep abreast of truth.

Results which appealed to them, and which they accustomed the churches at home to expect, do not similarly appeal to him. Methods which they adopted as commendable, and upon which they have stamped their approval, do not of necessity commend themselves to him. The seeds they planted with so much hopefulness, and tended with so much care, have blossomed and borne fruit; but the fruit which he is compelled to reap does not always justify the expectations they formed. He recognises that waste lands have been brought into cultivation, and he is ready to admit that the first crops cannot be expected to yield very good results; but he is painfully conscious that rich land capable of producing much finer harvests is still lying fallow, or is being cultivated in antiquated methods and sown with unsuitable seed. It is upon these lands that his eyes are cast, and he recognises that his methods must be adapted to the conditions of the soil, and his seed naturalised to the climate in which it is to grow, if the richer harvest is ever to wave over the cultivated fields of India, and Christianity is to

become the vitalising influence of the life of the Hindu.

The question of the failure of Christian missions in India, which has been much discussed of late, was an unfortunate method of calling attention to the real and pressing problem of the Christianisation of India. Those who raised the discussion were struck with the fact that the work which had been accomplished by Christian missions had left the real India comparatively untouched. They were looking for the influence of Christianity on the life and character of an Empire, and all that they found, or could possibly find, was the elevation of the few who were outside the pale of Hindu thought, and feeling, and life. It was therefore the failure of Christian missions to affect the thought and feeling of the Hindus as a nation, which arrested their attention and called forth their comment. When they looked at India from a political point of view, they found the birth of a great nation, composed of the most diverse races, united under an alien government, and, for the first time in their history, in the process of becoming a more or less united whole. They found that the best and highest thought of the people had readily assimilated Western ideals of political life, and that they were ready to press on even beyond the bounds which the wisdom of their political teachers had prescribed. These vast and far-reaching changes in the political life of India

had been accomplished, within a period which practically synchronised with the work of modern Christian missions. When, however, they turned from political to religious India, they were met with the most astonishing contrast; and in place of the wonderful "success" in the one, they found a remarkable "failure" in the other. They were quite prepared to admit that the two influences at work in India cannot be judged by the same standards nor measured by the same rule. At the same time the contrast in the results, could not fail to impress the mind and suggest food for serious reflection.

The "failure of Christian missions," however, was an unfortunate expression, and led to a mere barren controversy. One important fact was overlooked, and that was that the task which Christian missions had set themselves to accomplish was of a totally different kind from that which was present to the mind of the critic. That task was very largely determined by the theology of those who undertook it, and in that theology the emphasis had been unduly placed upon the individual, to the exclusion of the race. The Church sent forth its missionaries to save the individual, and paid little or no regard to the race to which he belonged. The individuals who were most conscious of their need of salvation were those whom the Hindu had cast off as not worthy of salvation. To this task the missionaries gave themselves with an earnest-

ness and devotion worthy of all praise, and their success has added a bright chapter to the history of the Church. When these men, therefore, heard of the "failure of Christian missions" they were genuinely astonished, and pointed in triumph to the thousands of their converts. The real fact is, not that Christian missions have failed, for their success has been conspicuous, but that the Church has failed to realise the nature of the task which awaits her. Under the influence of the older theology it was impossible for her even to perceive it, and therefore she never seriously undertook it. It is to the newer thought that we must look to enable us both to see the task before us, and to inspire us to attempt it. That newer thought has placed the emphasis on the race rather than on the individual, on life rather than on death, on earth rather than on heaven. In its outlook therefore, it has an eye for the soul of a nation, and not merely for the souls of individuals. It is able to contemplate the regeneration of a great people, and not merely the conversion of an individual. It is able therefore to grasp the significance and magnitude of the task that awaits us in India, and its larger thought should give us deeper feeling and keener insight to essay the task.

In the contemplation of her missionary work in India, the Church has first to realise that in the truest sense of the word the introduction of Christianity into India has yet to take place. This

is not meant to detract in the slightest degree from the work which has been accomplished; it is merely intended to emphasise the reality of the task that lies before us. It means that Christianity is as yet an exotic in India, and that until it has become naturalised, the real work before us cannot, strictly speaking, be said to have been started. If anything were needed to emphasise the real point of the discussion on the so-called failure of Christian missions, it could be supplied by stating the significant fact that throughout the whole of India one looks in vain for anything that can be correctly described as an indigenous Christianity. The Indian church has produced not a single theologian, nor has it given birth to a single heresy. When we contrast the first century of Christianity in Europe with the first century of modern Christian missions in India, this statement is deeply significant. The contact of Christian thought with that of Greece was productive of a ferment in both, which had an immense influence on the spread of Christianity in the West. In India we have a philosophical atmosphere quite as stimulating, and far more permeating than that of Greece when Christianity first came into contact with it; yet while Christianity has profoundly stirred Hindu thought and feeling, Hindu thought has had absolutely no influence on Indian Christian thought. The reason is that, with few exceptions, the Christian convert was never distinctively a Hindu. It was not to him as a Hindu

that the Christianity which was presented appealed. Hinduism had more or less lost its hold upon him, or he was outside the sphere of Hindu thought and feeling, and Christianity appealed to him on its own Western merits. Practically we have had very few, if any, cases of a Hindu seeing in Christianity the fulfilment of Hinduism ; and the result has been that to a large extent the Indian preacher has been strong in his denunciations of Hindu misconceptions, and weak or deficient in his enunciation of Hindu conceptions of truth.

In this respect there is a remarkable contrast between the Christian apologetics of the first century in the West, and the Christian apologetics prevalent in the India of to-day. The Greek fathers are steeped in Greek philosophy, and their presentation of Christian truth errs, if it err at all, on the side of being too Grecian rather than too Christian. No one could bring that charge against the Indian preacher. His thought is generally more Western than that of his missionary, and his condemnation of everything Hindu is far more uncompromising. The Hindu hearer therefore is first and foremost impressed with the fact that Christianity is the repudiation of almost every thought and feeling with which he is embued. It is not merely the religion of the foreigner, it is foreign to his whole conception of religion. He feels that he must first of all become a foreigner before he can appreciate it, and having no such

desire, he concludes that it is not the religion which can satisfy his needs. *Before India can be Christianised, Christianity must be naturalised.* Until this has been done, its influence upon India will be comparatively insignificant. We are often told that the work of the conversion of India is the work of the Indian Christian, and it is true if the emphasis is put on the adjective. The Indian Christian must be an Indian indeed, or he is far more powerless than the European. American cotton has been introduced into India as being much superior to the native product. It has been found, however, that it must first be naturalised before it can be propagated. The few farmers will experiment with the American seed, if it is given to them ; but if the cotton crop of India is to be improved, it will only be by the distribution of the seed of the naturalised plant. It is precisely the same with the introduction of Christianity into India. The few have seen its superiority as a religious force, and have accepted it in its Western form. It has to be naturalised before any extensive propagation is possible. It is not that it is the religion of the foreigner which causes it to be regarded with disfavour ; it is that its expression is foreign to the religious type of mind which India has evolved.

Our altered religious thought in the West, and our altered knowledge of the East, not only necessitate a re-statement of the case for Missions,

they make such a re-statement possible. The newer thought can appreciate the newer knowledge, and the newer knowledge can find its place in the newer thought. Christian evangelisation, in the truest sense, is no longer the forlorn hope of plucking a few brands from the burning; it is the building of an empire, into which are incorporated all the kingdoms of the world. The mission of Christianity is not to destroy but to fulfil the religious aspirations of men. The Church does not impoverish herself in giving of her best to the world, but enriches herself. In the religious realm the kings of the East have yet to bring their treasures into her storehouse. Christianity is of the East, eastern; and in returning to the home of her birth she will renew her strength and reinvigorate the West. The religious preparation of India has been within and not outside the scope of God's providential dealing with the race. The Church however must realise that she must work in truest co-operation with the Spirit, and not in opposition. In the work of redemption the Spirit has preceded the Church in India, and we must follow with due regard to Him who has preceded us. We must be ready for new developments, we must be willing to work for larger results, content in the meantime to walk by faith and not by sight.

We are building bigger than we know, and in the foundations we must put our strongest and our

best. In one of the finest buildings which is to mark the reign of India's greatest Empress, the central hall is to be roofed with a magnificent dome. Nothing more than the foundation walls is at present visible, and the earth-filling has covered over the greater part of the work which for months has been going on. Hidden from sight, and doomed to remain for ever unseen, is an exact counterpart underneath, of the wonderful dome which shall one day rise to crown and glorify the edifice. The dome above, however, is only rendered possible by the dome below, upon which it is to be reared. That has been constructed with the greatest care, for upon its solidity and stability depends the permanence of the glorious superstructure. Religious India will yet raise her memorial to the Christ of God, under whose sway and inspiration she will eclipse all her former glory. Other hands will rear and beautify the dome above, but it is ours which must lay deep and strong the foundations of the temple that is yet to be. The dust of ages will doubtless hide from view the work upon which the Church of to-day is engaged, but the dome which one day shall complete the Church's task will depend for its glory and for its permanence upon the dome we are building below the surface.

CHAPTER II

THE MODERN STANDPOINT

To many Christian people the terms, modern and new, in the domain of religion, are adjectives which necessarily carry a sufficient condemnation of any substantive to which they are attached. They live in the same sylvan retreat in which their fathers lived, and in which they themselves were born; look out from the same diamond-shaped window panes upon the same rural scenery; enjoy the same competence which they have inherited from their fathers, and are utterly unaffected by the transformations which have taken place in the great towns and huge cities which have grown up around them, and in which the millions are forced to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. Occasionally they hear the distant rumble of the passing train, and at times their slumbers are disturbed by the shrill whistle of the night express; but for the most part they live the same life and enjoy the same ease as their fathers did before them. They do not know or they do not realise that for the millions, the old tenements in which

they were born have long since been swept away, to make room for the factories and factory-like dwellings in which their less fortunate neighbours are forced to live, and move, and have their being. Still less do they realise that the back-garden of the labourer has become the back-yard of the workman, and that in place of the creepers and honeysuckle which once beautified the cottage of the poor, the soot and grime from their present field of labour disfigure their dwellings and darken their sky. The outlook on earth and sky of the modern workman is a different outlook from that of his fathers; he speaks an entirely different language, makes use of other idioms, has his mind filled with very different thoughts. His landmark is no longer the old ivy-mantled tower of the village church in which his father was a worshipper, but the smoky stack of the factory in which he is a worker. He is surrounded by too many squires either to know or be known by them, and the vicarage is too far away for him ever to see the parson. He is essentially a new creation of our modern life, and if we are to speak to him at all, we must address him not in the archaisms of a past which is dead to him, but in the newer language and more direct speech of the present.

These two classes are at opposite poles of life and thought, and of real intercourse between them there is and can be none. Between them are those whose associations inevitably draw them to one or

other of these two poles. There are those who have been forced by the exigencies of life to spend their week-days at least, in the atmosphere of our modern working life. They still live however in the old country home, and invariably spend their week-ends amid the old surroundings. In business they are of the modern world and decidedly modern. They buy their daily paper at the railway bookstall, and are at once engrossed in it, while the old familiar fields and hedgerows fly past them unobserved and unregarded. Their Sunday magazines and religious papers, however, are delivered at their country residence, and are carefully reserved for the week-end, when they are read amidst the peace and rest of sylvan surroundings, in which "no sound of jarring strife is heard." There are those, on the other hand, who have been forced to spend both week-day and week-end in the same atmosphere and in the same environment. Their daily paper and Sunday magazine must be in the same language, for they know no other. Sunday is a day when they have some leisure to think, but the thinking must be on the problems of the present life which they are forced to live, not on problems of a future life with which at present they have no time to concern themselves. The *Clarion* and the *Labour Leader* speak to them in a language with which they are familiar, discuss questions which are of supreme importance to them, and hence are read with avidity.

These facts must be borne in mind before we pass harsh judgments on those who are sincerely trying to present truths in modern dress, and to interpret the realities of life in modern speech. We live in the same world as our fathers, it is true; the problems of life which confront us are the same as those which confronted them; but the aspect of the world which presents itself to us is not the same as that presented to them, and the solutions which satisfied them are not the solutions which can satisfy us. When people speak of the old gospel, they frequently forget that it was essentially news. It was good news to those who heard it because it was felt to be new; and it commended itself because it was perceived to be good. In reality it was the proclamation of the oldest of all truths, the truth that the Father loveth you from the foundation of the world. It was received as tidings of great joy because the love was seen to be love. If we are to proclaim the same old truth we must clothe it in a language which makes it news indeed, and emphasise it by a method which commends it as love to those who know it not. We cannot do this unless we recognise that the standpoint from which the modern world looks out upon life is essentially different from the old, and that consequently the aspect which confronts the modern mind is not the aspect which confronted our fathers. If we believe that "God is still in His heaven and all is

right with the world," we must see it to be so through the fog, and smoke, and grime of the modern city, as clearly as our fathers saw it through the rain, and mist, and mire of their rural life.

In the same way, if the missionary cause is to call forth the consecration and devotion of the Church of to-day, it must appeal to thoughts which inspire the modern mind, and to sentiments which stir the modern heart. If the missionary enterprise cannot be re-stated in terms which are in agreement with our altered religious thought and feeling, its glory has departed and its very existence is imperilled. It is probably the sorrowful conviction of some that any such re-statement is impossible, and that the newer thought is incapable of responding to any missionary appeal whatever. It will generally be found that such foreboding as to the future is the outcome of a mistrust of the present, and that a real faith in the present is full of hope for the future. Those who distrust the present, will doubtless fail to appreciate any re-statement of the case that is here attempted, and feel that it comes far short of the old appeal. They must however remember that to great numbers the old appeal is an appeal no longer, and that what is here attempted is but an endeavour to adjust the claims of the cause they have at heart, to that newer thought with which they have perchance but little sympathy. The re-statement is addressed to those who increasingly

feel the incongruity between the appeal of a cause with which they have always sympathised, and the newer religious thought and feeling which has gradually taken possession of them.

It is of supreme importance that we should recognise that the missionary motive abides the same under the newer as under the older thought. That motive was found neither in the faith which became crystallised in a creed, nor in the hope which narrowed itself into the effort to save the remnant of those who believed, but in the love of Christ which constrained, because it thus judged that if one died for all, all were affected by that death, and all were entitled to know it. To the newer thought the faith and the hope have changed, but the love abides ; and its constraining power is still the motive force which compels it to seek and to save that which is lost. The newer thought may have altered the terms in which it seeks to express its conception of the person of Christ, but it speaks with no less emphasis of that chief constituent of His personality, His deathless and unquenchable love. It may have doubts as to the authenticity of what is called His great commission, but it has no doubt that it correctly conveys the Master's will. It no longer believes in everlasting punishment, from which a belief in any dogma can save men ; but it believes more intensely in the eternal connection between sin and suffering, and that through Christ there comes the

power which saves us from the life of self, and brings us into harmony with the will of the Father. It sees in the love which loved even to the uttermost, the complete surrender of His life for the life of the world ; and it believes, whoever may have written it, that if Christ so loved us, we ought also to love one another. In the presence of that love all discussion ceases, and the world's need alone abides. We feel that, however we may interpret it, "in Christ, God was reconciling the world unto Himself, and that He has committed unto us the word of reconciliation."

While the motive remains the same, the standpoint from which we view the world of men and their religious beliefs has undoubtedly changed. To the older thought the different standpoints varied with the particular field of human observation. The philosopher, the scientist, the sociologist, the theologian, each had his own standpoint, and sketched the landscape which spread itself out before him from the special position he occupied. The characteristic of our newer thought is the conviction that in our interpretation of the universe we must all occupy the same standpoint. Our gaze may be directed to very different points of the compass ; the scenery which meets our view as we look north may be very different from that which confronts us as we look south ; but we are on the same hilltop, and we have not to alter our position as

we look in the one direction or in the other, but merely to turn our eyes in each direction, that we may bring within the field of our limited vision the whole of that which it is possible for the finite mind to know. It is perhaps difficult for us at present to agree as to the exact position of the new standpoint, and each observer more or less describes it in relation to his own particular field of vision ; but the conviction is growing that we are on the same summit, whatever name we may have given it. There can be little doubt that it is to the scientist we owe the discovery of this new standpoint. His patient observation and his unbiassed search enabled him to discover the higher peak from which to map out, in due proportion and true perspective, the field of vision which he was engaged in surveying ; and the map he produced was so impressive that the other investigators were arrested in their work and induced to ascend his hilltop. They found to their astonishment that the field of their own vision became more defined, and their investigations yielded richer results.

The modern standpoint may perhaps be best described by saying that the conviction has been borne in upon us that we are all alike observers of a vast and age-long cosmic process, advancing to some great far-off divine event. The process is not as yet fully intelligible to us, the event is not yet sufficiently defined ; but we are more and more persuaded of the reality of the process and

the certainty of the event. The hypothesis with which we started has worked wherever it has been tried, and has become a conviction from which it is impossible to escape. In every field of vision it is the great base line upon which our triangles are constructed, as we endeavour to map out the country which stretches before us. Whether the conviction is right or wrong, there can be no doubt that it is being used in every department of human knowledge for the re-construction and re-statement of our conceptions of truth. To those who think that theology at least cannot be affected by any such change of standpoint, since it is specially preserved by being based upon a special revelation, it is sufficient to point out that revelation itself is being looked at from the same standpoint, and seen to harmonise with the same conviction. We are not here concerned with the correctness or incorrectness of this new standpoint, but simply with the fact that the standpoint is a new one, and that the missionary cause must be brought into line with this characteristic of modern thought. The Church cannot allow her love to be narrowed while her faith is being broadened, nor permit her sympathies to be contracted while she expands her mind.

The missionary enterprise will have no difficulty in finding a ground of appeal to the modern mind ; and when the broader faith has had time to nourish and develop a richer life, it may confidently expect to meet with even a more generous response.

From the new standpoint the missionary cause is seen to be, not a work of supererogation which may be left to the elect few, but an essential part of the Church's truer and deeper life; and the salvation of the race is perceived to be the goal towards which she is destined to move. To the newer thought the religious conceptions at the back of the words—death and hell—have not passed away, but have emerged out of a shadowy and undefined future into a real and clearly perceived present. Salvation is not regarded as a deliverance from an eternal death or an everlasting punishment, but as the entrance into a richer and fuller life. The missionary appeal no longer relies upon a vivid imagination to picture a fearful precipice over which thousands of souls are walking blindfold every second, and falling into an eternity of unspeakable woe; but it fixes its gaze rather on the famine-stricken millions whose existence is a living death, and whose terrible privation is a ceaseless torture. It draws a contrast not between the joys of an imaginary heaven and the miseries of a materialistic hell, but between the fulness of the divine life within the soul of the reconciled son, and the emptiness of him in the far country who has not yet come to himself, but would fain be filled with the husks that the swine do eat. To the elder son, the appeal to save from selfishness, and the misery which selfishness brings forth, may seem less urgent than an appeal based upon a

future punishment for riotous living; but to the brother with the Father's heart, it is the death as contrasted with the life, the loss as contrasted with the gain, which constitute the yearning for the filling of the vacant place, and compel him to go forth while the prodigal is yet a great way off. To the newer, as to the older thought, it is the fact "that God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that we might have life, and have it more abundantly," which constitutes the ground of appeal for foreign missions. The newer thought, however, underlines the words "world," "life," and "more abundantly"; it hears more acutely the children's cry for bread, and responds more readily to the reports of famines in distant lands.

There is another aspect of the missionary cause which is seen more clearly from the new standpoint than it could ever be seen from the old, and the appeal which it presents comes with a much greater force. That aspect is the conception of a world-wide empire of Christ. Under the older conception, missions to the heathen were regarded in the light of expeditions sent forth with the primary object of conquest. Other faiths and other ideals of life were to be destroyed, and the faith of the Church and the ideals of the West imposed upon the races which had first been subjugated. The missionary cause has never degenerated into that mere egotism which compasses sea and land to make one proselyte; but

its distinction from mere proselytism has not always been clearly defined, and has not at all times been carefully kept in mind. From the older standpoint it was not easy to regard other faiths in any other light than that of enemies, by whose extermination alone the land of promise could be possessed. There is a sense, of course, in which the destruction of some beliefs is the necessary precursor to the establishment of truer conceptions of life. It is not, however, a ruthless destruction, a mere iconoclasm which defaces the image of the outer shrine, while the reverence within the worshipper's breast still remains. The idolater's faith must first be elevated before his idol can wisely be cast down. While we induce him "to leave carved gods," we must see to it that he "guards the fire within." It is this importance of guarding the fire within, which appeals strongly to the modern mind. Under the newer conception therefore, the missionary enterprise is no longer an expedition for the subjugation of other faiths and the destruction of other ideals; it is an ambassage for the emancipation of subject races from the fetters with which they are bound, and their incorporation into the empire of Christ. The missionary goes forth not to impose a creed, but to evoke a richer faith; not to deny but to affirm; not to destroy but to fulfil.

The difference referred to may be illustrated

by the difference in the political sphere between the ancient and the modern idea of empire. The ancient conception was that of expansion by means of conquest ; the modern is that of expansion by means of federation. Under the older conception ruin and devastation marked the path of imperial progress. Under the newer, we seek to encourage and foster the evolution of a distinct political life in the parts, while uniting all in a larger and fuller political life of the whole. In the same way to the modern religious mind, the empire of Christ is not the destruction of those distinctive features in other faiths which have sustained and nourished the religious life, and the imposition of an alien creed promulgated from a Western seat of authority, but the incorporation of every religious thought and feeling which is vital and life-giving, into a union of loyal devotion to the eternal and universal Christ. Of necessity much will pass away that now holds captive the religious aspirations of the race ; idols will be cast to the moles and the bats ; dark shrines, the abodes of all manner of uncleanness, will be swept and garnished ; and fairer buildings will replace the rude and confined temples which now disfigure and darken the landscape. These things however are but temporal and temporary ; the spiritual and eternal aspirations to which they bear witness abide, and have their ministry and place in the larger life that is yet to be. All this may seem

visionary and unreal; and to many a fellow-worker toiling in the excavations with pick and shovel, it may seem the mere building of castles of fancy in the air of the imaginary; but "the vision is yet for the appointed time, and though it tarry it will not delay." The kingdoms of this world will become the empire of our God and of His Christ, and that empire will far surpass our most extravagant dreams. If the modern mind can perceive something of the greatness and glory of this empire of the Christ, the missionary enterprise will evoke a deeper enthusiasm and elicit a more adequate response. The older thought had a more lurid vision of the fate of the heathen before its eyes, but its response was not unworthy of its heart. It is for the newer thought, with its brighter vision of the future of the heathen, to make a response which shall be worthy alike both of its vision and its feeling.

There is yet another aspect of this question which appeals with special force to the modern mind. It is concerned with the future of religious thought. Under the older conception it is hardly too much to say that theology was regarded as a completed science. What there was to know was felt to be already known; and the final word had already been spoken. It is true that such a conception was never definitely formulated, but it was more or less the unwritten law which dominated the religious thought of the

many. The idea that we had anything to learn from those whom we regarded as the heathen, or that it was within their power to teach us anything, never came within the range of the older thought. The altered standpoint has changed all this completely; and the many attempts which are being made to re-state and re-shape our religious thought are all alike evidence that theology is, and must be, a progressive science. Our study of other religions has been fruitless, unless it has shown us that the true home of religious thinking is the East; and that the Eastern mind is the womb in which all the great religious ideas which have nourished the higher life of the race have been conceived. Eastern religious thought, however, has to come into contact with the actualities of human life and human activities, which are nowhere so vivid and so real as in the West, before it can become that inspiration and fructifying influence which a richer and fuller religious life demands. The Eastern mind has not yet completed its task, nor has the world's religious thought yet reached maturity. "The Life has been manifested, even that eternal Life which was with the Father, and we have seen His glory, a glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth"; but we have not yet succeeded in fixing it upon the canvas of human thought, and our attempts conceal, almost as much as they reveal, the beauty of that face in

which has been manifested the very glory of God. The Eastern mind has yet to give us its interpretation of the Christ, and the Eastern nature has yet to furnish us with its representation of the Christian life, ere the revelation is complete. No one who is at all acquainted with the penetration of the one, or the still depths of the other, can fail to anticipate with eager expectation the advent of both.

Sufficient has been said to show that the missionary enterprise is capable of making its own appeal to the newer thought, and that the newer thought is capable of responding to the appeal. It cannot, however, be too strongly urged *that the strength of the appeal will be more and more proportioned to the depth of the religious life which the newer thought is able to produce.* It is not by the older thought that the modern appeal must be judged, but by the response it elicits from the religious life which both older and newer thought alike produce. The missionary cause will prosper not because of the newer thought, but only as the result of a richer life which that newer thought is bound to produce. The present position of the missionary cause, itself demands that the appeal should rest on the depth of religious life, rather than on a superficial sentiment which is nourished by the romantic either in the missionary's story or in the hearer's theology. The romantic has passed away largely from both, and

the time has come when the plain and often prosaic story of excavation and foundation-laying should evoke even a greater enthusiasm than the hair-breadth escapes and daring adventures of the pioneer.

Slowly but surely the foundations are being laid in Eastern lands of the future city of God; silently but certainly are the people being drawn together and welded into a nation, and the constitution is being slowly evolved of that mighty empire of Christ in the East which shall gladden the eyes of our children's children. The missionary enterprise is no longer a romance, it has become a great epic—the greatest that the world has yet produced. It needs however, and demands something more than the mere transitory interest evoked by the bazaar, and exhibition, and living pictures of our present propaganda. It calls for the vision which is alone granted to high thought and noble purpose, the passion which is alone possible to that deep religious life which is in sympathetic accord with the travail of the Christ. If the newer thought can furnish the missionary cause with these essentials, it will confer untold blessing both on the Church and on the world.

CHAPTER III

THE INDIAN RELIGIOUS CLIMATE

If the modern mind is to grasp the problem of missionary enterprise and yield an adequate response to its appeal, it must have a far clearer conception of the conditions under which missionary effort has to be carried on, and a keener appreciation of the methods necessary for its successful prosecution, than those which at present prevail among the supporters at home. It must realise that the older conception, under which other religions were regarded as mere ignorant superstitions which would die a natural death when brought into contact with the scientific knowledge and higher civilisation of the West, is a pure delusion, at least as far as the East is concerned. In the East, religion is not the product of ignorance but of knowledge, however distorted the knowledge may be; it is not mere superstition, however grotesque and fanciful its manifestation may appear. To the Eastern mind religion is not a superfluity which he can dispense with and not miss; it is essential to his very existence. It is the atmosphere

he breathes; and however vitiated that atmosphere may be, he cannot exist in a vacuum. Western science and Western civilisation may cause him to feel disgust with the foul air about him; but if he abstains from breathing, the Eastern soul departs and leaves but a corpse behind. To realise this aright we need to study what is here called the religious climate of the East; and nowhere is that feature of Eastern life more pronounced than in India. It is the religious climate of India therefore, which is here treated of.

When a missionary is set apart for his work, it is the custom for some one, with more or less of experience, to attempt to describe what is called his field of labour. The idea is the excellent one of trying to describe something of the place in which, and the conditions under which, his future work is to be carried on. As to the carrying out of the idea, opinions will doubtless considerably vary. The missionary probably heard something of the country, the climate, and the people; he was interested in modes of travel, instructed in methods of living, informed as to the religion of the people, and inspired with stories of successful work. Of any true description of a field of labour however, he was for the most part left in entire ignorance. The description, with the slightest modification, would have equally fitted the case of any member of the civil service who happened to be going to the same station. Of the unchangeable

soil and of the unalterable climate of the country in which the field he was going to till was situated, he hardly heard a word. The same omission was to a large extent equally characteristic of the training to which missionary students were subjected. Well equipped in the principles of scientific agriculture, adequately stocked with a good supply of the best Western seed, and duly stamped with the imprimatur of the college in which they had graduated with honours, they were left for the most part in utter ignorance of the different soil and varied climate in and under which their work was to be carried on. If this were the whole extent of the disabilities under which they started, it might be dismissed in a word, and they might be safely left to the stern but efficient instruction of experience to learn by practical farming abroad, the lessons omitted from their curriculum at home. Unfortunately, the evil was not merely of a negative, it was of a positive kind as well. Those who sent them forth duly impressed them with the necessity of strictly adhering to Western methods of agriculture, of keeping an unfailing supply of the best Western seed, and, above all, of not failing to report the few patches of land brought under cultivation, and in which, by careful nursing, the Western seed had germinated and brought forth Western fruit. It is not surprising that under such conditions, and with such restrictions, Indian agricultural operations should be rather severely handicapped.

The analogy between missionary operations and farming is only an analogy; but there is sufficient similarity between the underlying principles of cultivation, whether in the natural or in the spiritual realm, to justify its use. There is, for instance, no question that Indian agricultural operations are of the most primitive kind, and that scientific methods and better seed are capable of adding enormously to the wealth of India. It has been found however, that one factor in the problem cannot be ignored if any extensive improvement is to be effected. That factor is summed up in the phrase—Indian experience. However much the scientific agriculturalist may look down upon the primitive methods and unscientific principles of the Indian farmer, he is bound to admit that experience gained through centuries of intimate acquaintance with the soil and climate of India, is capable of producing at less cost and at greater ease, results which compare favourably with those derived from his own best Western methods. The first thing he learns is that his seeds have to be naturalised, and his methods adapted and modified to suit the different conditions of Indian agriculture. In other words, he finds that the field of his labour possesses elements which nature has conferred upon it, and that success lies not in opposition to, but in co-operation with the fixed properties of the soil and climate. The same is true in every branch of

work carried on in India. Forestry, engineering, law, administration, are all of them different in India from what they are in the West, and have all to be adapted and modified to suit the altered conditions. When it is remembered therefore, that of all the distinctive features of India its religion is the most pronounced, it will readily be seen that the problem of the Christianisation of India is one in which the factors of soil and climate cannot possibly be set aside.

Attention has in recent years been very rightly directed to the importance of the study of Hinduism by every missionary who goes out to labour amongst the people of India. There is no question that such study ought to be an essential part of the curriculum of every missionary student. Unless the foundation for such a study is laid at home, it is extremely difficult for him, amidst the multifarious duties into which he is plunged as soon as he arrives, to find the necessary time for any serious investigation of so vast a subject as is included in the term. With the majority of missionaries the Greek and Latin and Hebrew upon which they spent so much time, are subjects which cease to have much practical importance in the life-work which confronts them, while the Sanscrit which was omitted, confronts them at every turn. Similarly the religious extravagancies which they encountered in their study of the heresies of the past, fade from the memory as matters of indiffer-

ence, while they puzzle over the religious extravagancies met with at every turn, and the roots of which are embedded in a literature with which they have no acquaintance. It is not what was included in the curriculum, but what was omitted, which is here regretted. The missionary should be prepared with a view to the work in which he is to be engaged. He is submitted to the same process as those who are destined for ministry at home, unmindful of the fact that his field of labour is entirely different.

While a study of Sanscrit and an acquaintance with Hindu religion and philosophy are desirable, it should be remembered that they stand in much the same relation to the religious thought and feeling of the Hindu of to-day, as the geology of India stands in relation to its geography. A knowledge of the one is eminently desirable, but a knowledge of the other is absolutely essential. Geology can teach us much of the land as it was; it can explain and account for the conformations which exist; but for the work which awaits us in the India of to-day, a knowledge of its geography is of far more practical value. If we are to carry our merchandise into the remotest parts of the land, we must know something of the great lines of communication, the political divisions and the diverse customs, as well as the great seasons when communications are difficult or easy. Hindu religious systems and Hindu schools of philosophy

are very desirable subjects of study, and well repay the time that can be spent upon them, but there are great religious conceptions, and there are subtle philosophical ideas, which are embedded in the soil and diffused through the atmosphere of the common people, and these it is essential to know and recognise. For the one Hindu who has any real acquaintance with the Hinduism of the books and the philosophies of the schools, there are a thousand into the texture of whose being Hindu religious and philosophical ideas are inextricably woven. The thousands are Hindus not because they are versed in the literature of Hinduism, but because they have been born and brought up in the Hindu religious atmosphere, and their roots strike deep down into the Hindu religious soil. It is this atmosphere and soil which constitute what is here called the religious climate of India, and it is this religious climate which has to be reckoned with in any serious and well-directed attempt at the Christianisation of the land.

One of the distinctive features of the Hindu conception of human life, and one which distinguishes it from that of the West, is that which can best be described by saying, that while religion is one of the constituents of the atmosphere of the West, very unequally diffused in the various environments of Western life, it is, on the other hand, the chief constituent in the East, and the one which overwhelms every other. In the West

life can and does exist and develop when the religious element forms only the smallest fraction of the atmosphere upon which it depends. In India, on the contrary, life, as the Hindu conceives it, cannot exist when the religious element is withdrawn from the surrounding atmosphere. No comparison is here instituted between the quality of the religious element in the life of the East and West respectively. The point that is emphasised is the essential difference in what may be called the atmosphere of life. In the West we are accustomed to speak of a certain phase of life as the religious life, and to draw sharp distinctions between what we call sacred and secular. In India, on the other hand, life is essentially religious; and in the strictest sense of the word there is nothing which can properly be called secular at all. Religion is all-pervading as the atmosphere itself; it penetrates into every nook and corner of life, so that the Hindu can never escape from its influence. It presides over his birth, fixes his name, determines his education, settles his calling, arranges his marriage, orders every detail of his family and social life, and controls his destiny through all time. Not only so, but it gives colour and shape to the external world in which he lives and moves. Animate and inanimate nature, rivers and hills, trees and plants, rocks and stones, everything in the animal and vegetable kingdom, are all alike existing in this

all-pervading religious atmosphere, and present themselves to his mind through this all-embracing medium. It is this fact perhaps more than anything else which makes the Hindu an insoluble enigma to the man of the West. Its subtle influence is encountered at every turn, its tint is present in every landscape, its pungent essence can be detected everywhere. It has to be reckoned with in the India Office, in the Legislative Council, in the Government Office, in market and school, in the largest town as well as in the smallest hamlet. Western education does not abolish it, Western science does not banish it, and even Western religion cannot eradicate it. So permanent and indestructible an element in the Hindu character cannot possibly be ignored, nor is it desirable that it should be. The absence of anything corresponding to it in the West is not a subject for congratulation, but the reverse. Outside the Church it is prejudicial to any full-orbed view of human life, and within the Church it has hindered our apprehension of the fuller and wider meaning of the kingdom of heaven of Christ's teaching.

In India, religion is, and must remain, a part of the soil and a constituent of the atmosphere of the Hindu. If Christianity is to spread and fulfil the part it is destined to play in the future of India, its thought and its life will have to be influenced by the religious climate of the land. While many are prepared to admit this in theory, where shall

we find the missionary organisation which recognises it in practice, and fashions its methods of work with due regard to this religious climate of the land in which it carries on its work? We have only to look at our missionary propaganda in the light in which it is of necessity seen by those for whose benefit it is carried on, to become conscious of our general shortcoming in this respect. That which the Hindu sees in the advent of Christianity into his midst, is not an intensification of this religious atmosphere, but its dissipation; not an access of spiritual force and vitality, but a loss of reverence for all that is associated in his mind with the sanctities of religion. To him Christianity is connected with loss rather than with gain, with shame rather than with honour, with licence rather than with duty. To the Hindu the convert is one who is dead to all the sacred ties of family, is lost to all true self-respect, and obdurate to every just and sacred claim. Of Christianity as religion, he knows nothing; of Christianity as a proselytism, he knows too much. To him it is an iconoclasm which delights in wrecking every sacred image and in defaming every holy place. It is a revolutionary movement obliterating all social distinctions, and sanctioning the utmost licence. Doubtless such a misconception is not altogether avoidable; but one has a suspicion that if we more clearly recognised the nature of the Indian religious climate, some of our missionary methods would be

considerably modified. Oversensitiveness rather than insensitiveness to the Indian religious climate should be the direction in which our missionary methods err, if err they must.

Another feature of the religious climate of India is that conception of the Divine which is summed up in the word Pantheism. With Pantheism as a philosophy, or Pantheism as a theology, we are not here concerned. We are dealing with the soil and atmosphere which make up the religious climate of India, in which the Hindu lives, and moves, and has his being; and in that climate the *pantheistic mental attitude is a permanent factor*. If we believe in a providential education of the race, then we shall recognise that this particular type of mind has been evolved for a very definite purpose, and we shall be prepared for its distinct contribution to the religious thought of the world. The pantheistic systems of India may pass away, but the pantheistic type of mind will abide. The thousands of Hindus know comparatively nothing of Pantheism as a system, but a more or less pantheistic view of the universe is ingrained in their mental constitution. Talk with the rudest villager engaged in offering his cocoanut or flowers to the crudest idol, and you will soon discover that beneath his idolatry there is a Pantheism from which he never gets away. The Hindu can be as indifferent to the Divine as the Western, or even more so, but he can never be

as insensible. He has never contributed a single argument in proof of the existence of God, because he has never felt the need of one. He has denied the reality of the external universe, and in fact its pure illusoriness is a fundamental axiom of his thought, but of the existence of the Divine he has rarely been able to manufacture a doubt. To him God is the great reality, and in truth the only reality. To the Hindu however, the universe is not a revelation of God, but a veil which conceals Him. In this respect his Pantheism is very different from that of the West. Nature has nothing to tell him of the character of God. The seen is the unreal, the unseen is alone the real. The great reality for ever evades him; he strives to grasp the real, but seizes only the unreal.

This conception is no mere doctrine of the schools, it is the commonplace of Hindu thought. Brahmin and Pariah are equally under its influence. It is the contrast between the conception of the Divine in East and in West, with its immense influence on religious thought, which is here emphasised. In the East it is no mere theological doctrine; it is a mental attitude, which affects the whole range of Hindu thought and feeling. The facts which the West regards as ultimates, and into harmony with which our system of thought must be brought, are to the Hindu not ultimates at all, but the mere superficies, deceptive and delusive, behind which and below which, un-

perceived and imperceptible, there hides the one and sole reality. The appeal to facts therefore, which is the conclusive argument of the man of the West, is the evidence to the Hindu of a view of life and of the universe which is purely superficial,—the conclusive proof of the absence of any serious reflection. His one and only ultimate is God; his great and only reality the unseen; his true and eternal environment the spiritual. He can be as deeply absorbed in the pursuit of the material as any Western, but he never deludes himself into believing that he is dealing with realities. His actions may reveal the rank materialist, but his thoughts are always those of the pure idealist. His pantheistic conception of the Divine furnishes him with his test of all reality. To him the apparent is never the real; the self-evident is always delusive. He is for ever searching for that which is below the surface; he is always suspicious of that which is simple and clear. The true explanation of the Indian Mutiny, and of much of the unrest which periodically manifests itself in India, is largely due to this cause.

In the religious domain therefore, it is the mysterious which appeals to him, while that which is clear and lucid is inevitably regarded as of little value. In his literature, it is the dark saying and the stanza of dubious meaning which he prizes most; in his social intercourse, it is the casual remark, with its possible suggestion, upon which

he seizes with avidity. To explain a religious idea is always more or less to depreciate it. The inner shrine of the Hindu temple must always be in darkness; the image which represents the deity must never be too clearly seen. Similarly the deepest knowledge must never be explained to the multitude; cannot be, is perhaps a truer representation of Hindu thought. That which everybody can see, must be superficial alone; that which is below the surface can only be perceived by the initiated few. A religion without its esoteric mysteries is, according to the Hindu conception therefore, to be ranked in the lowest scale. Here again we are brought face to face with the problem of the Christianisation of India in the light of this fundamental conception in Hindu religious thinking. What are we to say of the presentation of what we are accustomed to call the simple Gospel to such a people, and what are they likely to think of the open preaching of the deepest mysteries to learned and unlearned indiscriminately? This is not the place to discuss the question of missionary methods; all that is here emphasised is the nature of that religious climate in which the work must be carried on, and the necessity of making due allowance for it in the adaptation of means to ends.

Closely connected with this fundamental conception of the Divine, is the Hindu conception of the supreme type of the religious mind, which may

best be described by the term other-worldliness. This other-worldliness, however, must not be confused with the same term as applied to the Western. There is no contrast between heaven and earth, in the Western sense ; the contrast in his mind is rather between what the philosophers call the phenomenon and the noumenon, the apparent and the real, the false and the true. The Hindu saint despises the world of material things because he believes it to be a mirage which allures only to deceive. That which in the West we call the strenuous life, with its thousand activities, is to the Hindu saint merely the childish absorption in a world of pure make-believe. His other-world however, is not there but here, not in the future but in the present ; or perhaps, more strictly speaking, it has nothing to do with either time or place. To him the real verities are not super-natural but sub-natural. His other-world is not above but beneath the world of sense ; it is not beyond but within it. The ideal he strives for is an identification of himself with the Great Reality ; and in that identification conceptions of time and place have no existence. These very forms, imposed upon thought, are themselves a part of the delusion in which the ordinary man lives ; and the phenomenal, with which he is constantly dealing, merely emphasises the delusion.

The conception of the influence of religion on life therefore, which is characteristic of the Hindu

mind, is a withdrawal from the activities of life, a contempt for material things as the mere play-things of children, and an absorption in another world of thought dealing with the one and only reality. It is perfectly true that Hinduism recognises another type of religious life in which feeling rather than thought is the characteristic, and that such a life can be lived amidst the activities and actualities of life. It is however a concession to human weakness, a compromise which is on a much lower level than the other. The highest type is an absolute other-worldliness, and it is this type which has established itself in the Hindu mind as the religious life *par excellence*. Here, again, we are not concerned with the relative merits of the different conceptions of East and West; we are only emphasising the conditions under which the empire of Christ has to be established in India. This is the nature of the soil, and this is a quality in the atmosphere, in which Christianity has to take root and germinate. The missionary must never forget nor ignore it; his methods must never leave it out of account.

Just as the religious or spiritual outlook of the Hindu is pantheistic, so his mental outlook is idealistic. In the West, idealism is a hot-house plant; in India, it is a common wayside shrub. The Western is as a rule an idealist with difficulty; the Hindu is with difficulty anything else. The marvels of science will excite his interest; a

mysterious thought will stir the depths of his being. He will read history under more or less compulsion, and largely for purposes of examination; but he will revel in mythology. As he watches the progress of some great feat of modern engineering, such as the spanning of a great Indian river, he will betray a certain amount of mild appreciation ; but he reserves his enthusiasm for the story of Rama's bridge between India and Ceylon, built with stones brought by the army of monkeys under Hanuman from the far-distant Himalayas, and will point with pride to the chain of rocky islets jutting above the water, the remains of the piers of that mighty causeway along which Rama led his victorious hosts for the deliverance of Sita. He will admit and more or less avail himself of the benefits of Western medicine and surgery, but nothing will persuade him but that the ancient rishis performed feats of healing in comparison with which the greatest triumphs of modern medical skill are but as child's play. He will carefully test every rupee he receives to see that it rings true, and yet he will be ready to give the fullest credence to the first charlatan who comes along offering to transmute his silver into gold.

The contrasts and anomalies which the Hindu mind presents to the Western are innumerable and apparently inexplicable. The line of explanation, however, lies along a very definite path ;

the compass, if properly used, will lead aright, for it has a very distinct magnetic north. *The needle of the Western's compass is attracted to the northern pole of fact; the needle of the Hindu's is as strongly attracted to a northern pole of idea.* Hindu reasoning is rarely of the inductive order, but almost always of the deductive. He will listen to a lecture on hygiene, in which the lecturer marshals his array of facts to demonstrate that cholera is a water-borne disease, easily preventible by the simple process of boiling all drinking water, and he will go to his house utterly unimpressed, and send his women the next day, even if he does not go himself, to propitiate the goddess of cholera, who, he believes, is afflicting her wayward votaries. The appeal to facts makes no impression upon him, because they are taken from the purely illusive sphere of the seen, against which he must for ever be on his guard. The most extravagant idea, on the other hand, dips down below the surface, belongs to the real world of thought, and on that very account has a validity for him which he readily allows. Deify the cholera germ and call her a goddess, describe her as a captive imprisoned in the wells by some other deity, explain that she can only be liberated by the conversion of the water into steam, picture her ascending, glad and free, in the curling wreaths of vapour, leaving a blessing behind her to those votaries who drink of the bath in which she has bathed, and you would,

if you were a Hindu saint with matted locks and filthy body, easily establish a cult, one of whose most stringent rites would be the drinking of boiled water. This is of course a hyperbole, but it emphasises the peculiarity of the Hindu mind which is here referred to.

Ideas and not facts are the ultimates with which the Hindu deals. The former he regards with the holiest veneration, the latter he holds in supreme contempt. The awful facts connected with Suttee —the burning of Hindu widows—never made any impression upon the Hindu mind. It was the Western mind which was outraged, and it was the Western will which prohibited it. The Hindu mind completely ignored the visible ills, and concentrated its thought entirely on an imaginary ideal of wifely devotion, and the supposed spiritual results which were to accrue. The power of the world of idea over the world of fact in the Hindu mind, is seen in the attempts to revive Suttee, more than sixty years after its abolition, and in spite of the penalties incurred by every participator. This idealism, with its supreme contempt for facts, is an element in the religious climate of India which must never be lost sight of in the consideration of the missionary problem. It presents a formidable barrier to the spread of Christianity, but it augurs a superb defence against that advancing tide of materialism which threatens to engulf the West. The ideality of the East needs

the quickening influence of the practicality of the West; but we must see to it that in our presentation of Christian truth, in the prosecution of missionary operations, and in the organisation of the Indian Church, the practical West does not say to the ideal East, I have no need of thee.

Another constituent in the religious climate of India, which will have an immense influence on the problem here discussed, is the fact that to the Hindu, religion is indissolubly connected with philosophy, and with a philosophy of the metaphysical order. In the West, the term science is used almost exclusively for knowledge of the physical; to the Hindu, the corresponding term is applied almost exclusively to the metaphysical. Even in the religious sphere, to the Western it is the moral which captivates his soul, and at the most the metaphysical only interests the few. To the Hindu it is just the reverse; the moral interests him, but the metaphysical absorbs him. He places the moral life on a lower plane than the mental life, and can contemplate the dissociation of the one from the other with perfect equanimity. The immoral stories in the Puranas, connected with the lives of the gods, in no sense revolt him, however pure and clean his own life may be. He regards them as the story of mere relaxation taken by beings on a different plane of existence, and not therefore to be judged by the standards of life on a lower plane. They are like the childish

games in which a philosopher may occasionally engage for the amusement of his children when he descends from his study into the nursery. Those contradictions in the Hindu character, which seem so inexplicable to the Western mind, are all traceable to this exaltation of the metaphysical over the physical and moral. To the Hindu, ignorance is worse than immorality, and a slip in reasoning more shameful than a slip in morality. Wisdom infinitely surpasses goodness, and the adept in occultism is more venerated than the greatest philanthropist.

The Theosophical Society has as its first and essential object, the promotion of the brotherhood of man ; secondly, the promotion of the study of Sanscrit literature ; and, thirdly, the investigation of occult phenomena. The first is declared to be alone binding on all members. It may safely be said that this is the chief Western influence in the Society's avowed objects, and it is the only one of the three which has absolutely failed to produce any visible results. An immense impulse has been given both to the study of Sanscrit literature and to the investigation of occult phenomena ; but the brotherhood of man has been whittled down to an irresponsible membership of a select society of high-caste Hindus, who point with pride to the fact that they have become so liberal in their views that they have actually eaten with Mrs. Besant. They believe, doubtless, in the brotherhood of man

in a metaphysical sense which is perfectly intelligible to themselves, but absolutely incomprehensible and imperceptible to those outside. The chief contribution which Theosophy has made to the cause of the brotherhood of man, would seem to be to point out the superlative wisdom of the caste system, and the absolute necessity for its preservation. This reference to the Theosophical Society is not made with any desire to refute its teaching or condemn its methods. It is simply to show by a striking illustration the innate tendency of the Hindu mind to exalt the metaphysical above the physical and moral. That Hindu mind has cast its spell over Mrs. Besant; and though the Western may find it difficult to believe her contention that in a previous birth she was a Brahmin, he has little difficulty in believing she has become one. In this respect again he occupies a position the exact reverse of the Hindu, who has no difficulty in believing the former, but is incapable of believing the latter. Let any one read any of the remarkable publications of the Theosophical Society, and he will at once perceive how, for the Hindu, everything at once resolves itself into metaphysics, and how his mind at once transmutes everything it touches into the gold needed for his work. He will find Western science supporting incantation, Western hygiene supporting caste restrictions, and the Christian religion itself supporting Hindu idolatry. It is

true that most of these publications are written by Westerns, but they are by Western minds under the spell of the East; and the enthusiastic reception they meet with at the hands of Hindus, is a testimony to the extent to which the writers have succeeded in looking at the universe from the metaphysical standpoint of the Hindu.

True knowledge being to the Hindu essentially a knowledge of the metaphysical as distinct from the physical, the knowledge of religion, which he has always regarded as the highest knowledge of all, is a knowledge of the higher metaphysics. Of the religious life as conceived and expressed by Christ, the Hindu has little appreciation. Its ordinary presentation in Christian teaching he regards as merely the exoteric doctrine dealing with the superficialities of religion, and is generally convinced that there must be some esoteric doctrine carefully withheld from the multitude and imparted to the initiated alone. Mrs. Besant has herself reviewed Christianity under the influence of this feeling, with the result that Gnosticism is exalted into the supreme place, and treated as the real Christianity, of which present Christianity is merely the exoteric and purely rudimentary teaching. Of spirituality in the sense of a transfigured morality, such as is found in the West, the Hindu has practically no knowledge. Of religious service as a divine philanthropy, that enthusiasm for humanity which consecrates a life to the

service of one's fellows, the Hindu has no experience. All this is on the inferior plane of action, whereas his thought is fixed on the superior plane of inaction. He may respect the philanthropist, but he will reverence the fakir. The speech of the teacher is silvern, but the silence of the recluse is golden ; the good deeds of the philanthropist are meritorious, but the absolute passivity and inactivity of the hermit are the true marks of the divine. These ideas are not confined to the higher classes or to those more deeply versed in the Hinduism of the books, they are equally shared in by the lowly and illiterate. An oracular utterance of some religiously intoxicated devotee will create a profounder impression than the most lucid exposition or the most pregnant remark. This is not due to the mere wonder which the unknown produces ; it is based on the conviction that the higher knowledge is metaphysical, and of necessity so abstruse as to be incapable of lucid utterance. There is also more or less of a conviction that the searcher after hidden treasure never parts with what he has discovered, until he has perceived a greater treasure beyond. It is therefore not what is said which is of supreme value, but what is hinted at. The Hindu is not very much interested in that which we call the knowable, his interest centres in that which we are accustomed to regard as the unknowable. It is not the material but the mental, not the moral but the occult,

which has laid its spell upon the Hindu. That which may be, takes precedence over that which is; that which might be, appeals with greater force than that which ought to be. In the domain of religion it is not the simple duty but the abstruse speculation which arouses his enthusiasm.

In strict accord with this metaphysical cast of mind, the question of human destiny is of far more moment to the Hindu than the question of present conduct. In fact it is the connection between the two which alone causes him to regard conduct with any interest at all. In the West conduct is regarded as of supreme concern because of its effect on destiny. In the mind of the Hindu, destiny is of supreme concern because of its effect upon conduct. This is perhaps an exaggerated way of expressing the truth, but it emphasises accurately the essential distinction between the two types of mind. With the Western the issues of life are in the present; with the Hindu the present is but an infinitesimal fraction of a great life-process, which emerges from the past to be again merged in the future. It is not the day, therefore, in which he walks, but the night out of which he has awaked, and the night during which he will slumber, which absorb his real interest. Out of the darkness he comes, he passes through the lighted chamber of the present, and disappears into the darkness beyond. The lighted chamber and its furniture have little interest for

him ; his thought is ever fixed, his eyes are ever turned in the direction of the darkness behind and before. He never contemplates himself as a creature of time, but of eternity. To the Hindu, I am, is but a part of the verb to be, and is but momentary. It implies of necessity vaster periods during which I was, and I shall be. The ego is, strictly speaking, on another plane from that in which conceptions of time and place prevail. The same is true of the actions of the ego also. The deed which is done in time is done also in eternity. Like the doer, it is indissolubly connected with both past and future. It is the fruit of a former harvest, the seed of a present sowing, and it will bring forth fruit for a future spring. Every action is not simply force expended ; it is force generated, and has a certain persistence in it which guarantees its continuance. The deed that is done, is not done with ; nor can the connection between deed and doer ever be dissolved.

This is really what is meant by that which the Hindu calls the great law of Karma, a conception which is indelibly printed on his mind. The connected idea of transmigration is not peculiar to the Hindu ; it is found in some of the lowest and most primitive forms of religious faith. In Hinduism, however, whatever may have been its lowly origin, it has been elevated into a philosophical system, and from its exalted position has dominated the religious thought of the whole nation. It is not

a view of human destiny peculiar to a section, characteristic of a peculiar school of either philosophy or religion; it is fundamental to every phase of Hinduism, and to every school of philosophic thought. The Hindu cannot think of life apart from it. It must always be remembered therefore, that behind the mere religious belief in a series of births and re-births, there is a philosophical conception subtle and profound. The Western is apt to think that the belief is a childish one, based upon nothing more than the exaggeration of those rare experiences when we seem to think that we have been in a certain place before, and passed through a certain experience previously. Or he regards it in the light of a theological doctrine of the punishment of sin. None of these conceptions however, really touch the question, nor is any discussion based upon such conceptions of very much value. The Hindu has never made use of the inductive method in arriving at any of his theories, he has always followed the deductive method. He has a supreme contempt for mere facts. Confront him with any number of facts opposed to his theory, and he will only smile the smile of superior wisdom. Point out the smallest flaw in his argument, and he is covered with confusion. What the Hindu demands therefore, is a truer and deeper conception of the real answer to the mystery of life; a richer and not a poorer conception of the relation between life and conduct; a clearer and not a more

opaque view of human destiny. The practical answers of the busy and bustling West will never satisfy the leisured and imperturbable East.

No attempt to indicate some of the most prominent constituents of the religious climate of India would be complete or adequate, which left out that subtle and all-pervading atmosphere of Hindu thought and feeling which is familiarly known to us under the name of caste. Caste is often compared with those divisions of society known in the West as class distinctions. The resemblance however is purely superficial, and misleads far more than it informs. Class distinctions are the differences of society in a state of flux; caste distinctions are the permanent divisions of a society which has consolidated. The one is temporary and evanescent, the other is permanent. The one is evolved from within, the other is imposed from without. The one is a sign of life, the other is the evidence of death. Class distinctions are purely social, and vary from age to age; Caste is essentially religious, and abides unalterably the same from age to age. In the West, Society constitutes classes, in India, Caste constitutes society. The modern Hindu tries to explain caste on the principles of evolution; the ancient Hindu, with far more reason, explained it as a definite creation. The sanction and authority of religion were secured for the results which social evolution had obtained. The old myth, interpreted as a myth, gives us the

true origin. The four great castes were and are the distinctions which mark the life of society. The philosopher, looking at life in the light of a past and future, accounted for the inequalities he perceived in the present, by the working of the law of Karma; and being a theologian as well, he expressed his conception of the justice of such inequalities by attributing their creation to Brahma himself. At the same time it should be pointed out that he emphasised the oneness of society by tracing the different castes to different parts of Brahma's body. The religious sanction thus obtained for the theory, transformed a natural evolution of society into a permanent and unalterable constitution.

This connection between caste and religion must always be borne in mind in regarding it. As long as a Hindu remains a Hindu in thought and feeling, so long must he regard caste, not as a social institution, but as a natural and religious constitution which it is irrational to question and impious to attempt to alter. To speak of the accident of birth is to his mind to betray utter ignorance, for birth is of all things that which is no accident. It is the manifestation of the unswerving and unerring law of Karma. It is the balance which has been struck and carried forward to the fresh page, after the old account has been audited and found correct. Present action and present conduct have nothing to do

with the position the man occupies in the present. That has been determined by a law which cannot err ; it is a judgment passed by a court from which there is no appeal. Brahmin and Pariah are such by virtue not of what they do or even are now, but by virtue of that which through an age-long process they have become. They may change places in the future, but for the life that now is, they are separated by an impassable barrier. As members of a present social order they have definite relations and definite responsibilities ; but the rise of the one and the fall of the other in the material, or mental, or moral scale, leaves entirely unaffected their relative positions in the social system. That position has been fixed by that which is above society, and neither the individual nor society can alter it.

If we would estimate caste feeling aright therefore, we must realise that to the Hindu it is not a question of individual feeling or mere social custom ; it is simply the recognition of what he believes is an essential part of the constitution of things as they are. It is this which causes the orthodox Hindu to view with such abhorrence the breaking of caste. To him it is as unnatural as it is impious. It is an attempt to set nature at defiance, to be guilty of blasphemy against God. It is inevitable that in the Christianisation of India conflict should arise between two such opposed spirits as the spirit of caste and the spirit of Christ.

Between the two, when in actual conflict, there can be no compromise; for the one is the direct negative of the other. It is however of supreme importance that the conflict should take place as the result of the possession of the spirit of Christ, rather than as the result of mere interest in and attraction towards the Christian religion. It is unfortunate that in the Christian propaganda, the breaking of caste is to the Hindu a more prominent feature than the manifestation of the spirit of Christ. To the Hindu, the impiety of the convert is more conspicuous than his Christian piety. In many cases he seems to be hasting to cast off an old fetter before he has made sure of a new bond. It is a question for earnest consideration whether our efforts have not been hindered by the apparent eagerness with which we have encouraged the purely negative virtue of breaking caste. To the convert and his friends, the negative virtue has received a greater emphasis than it deserves, and the positive virtue revealed in the manifestation of the spirit of Christ has been often thereby relegated to a subordinate position.

CHAPTER IV

THE RELIGIOUS NEED OF INDIA

THERE are two classes of people who will do well to pass this chapter by. At the one extreme there is the man to whom Christianity, as interpreted by the Western mind, is the only possible Christianity. At the other extreme is the man to whom Christianity is no revelation of God at all, but who regards it as merely one of the many evolutions of religious thought which are all alike equally without foundation. To both alike Christianity is merely a synonym for Western religious thought, and has no special message for the Hindu as a Hindu. To both alike its propagation means the conversion of the Eastern into a Western, which the one desires and the other abominates. The one refuses to look at the Hindu as a Hindu, and the other refuses to consider him as anything else. Give him the simple Gospel is the cry of the one; leave him to his Hinduism is the cry of the other. From neither the one nor the other is India likely to receive much help in the time of travail upon which she has entered. The one doctor has no

belief in nature, and the other has no belief in science. Between the two the life of both mother and child is in danger of being sacrificed. Their wisest course is to withdraw from the consultation. This chapter is addressed to those who believe both in Christianity and in the Hindu.

Perhaps the first principle which should be insisted upon, is the absolute necessity of distinguishing between Christianity and Christian theology. We are bound to give the one, we are prohibited from imposing the other. To bestow the one is to evangelise in the truest sense; to impose the other is to proselytise in the worst sense. To evangelise is to carry on Christ's work in the same spirit as that in which He Himself worked; to proselytise is to attempt to carry it on in the spirit which called forth His most scathing condemnation. The Spirit of the Lord is upon us, not to impose fetters but to break them; to proclaim liberty and not slavery; to give life, and life more abundantly, and not to take it away. We do not seek for those who will share our opinions, but for those who will share with us in the deeper religious life which we have received from Christ. That which sends us forth is not the strength of our views, but the depth of our life; not our formulated beliefs, but our faith; not any longing for converts, but our passion for souls. We must recognise however, that we are, and must ever remain, importers of new seed; we are

not, and can never become, Hindu cultivators. The religious life of India has certain great needs which Christ can alone satisfy, but it is religious life nevertheless; and it is a religious life of a type which is in harmony with those special characteristics which constitute India's contribution to the larger religious life of the race. If this is true of Hindu religious life, it is even more true of Hindu religious thought. The East is not the West, and can never become the West. The sun, and moon, and stars, the earth, and sky, and sea, which confront the Hindu, though the same as those which confront the European, are not the same from the standpoint from which he looks out upon them, and never can be the same. Nature must inevitably be different in her appearance to the eyes of the East from what she is to the eyes of the West. In India, the year, the seasons, the night, the day, the clouds, the winds, the rain, the animal and vegetable kingdoms, are all different from those of the West. These differences in the external world of matter have all produced corresponding differences in the internal world of mind, with the result that the Hindu's language is not merely different in appearance, it is different in texture. Its imagery and idioms are all based upon a certain correspondence between the external world of matter and the internal world of mind, which is more or less correct from the relative position in which he is fixed on the earth's surface;

but it is on that very account different from that which prevails amongst a people fixed in a different latitude and longitude. Difference of time is due to difference of place ; and if time and place are both different in East and West, thought and feeling must be different too.

If these facts are kept in mind, the difference between Christianity and our Western interpretation of it will define itself. By Christianity is meant those facts of the religious life, that manifestation of the character of God and of His relation to man, which we owe to Jesus Christ. By our Western interpretation of it we mean the signification of those facts which has presented itself to the Western mind, and which the Western mind has formulated for itself. India is in the direst need of those facts ; she has no need whatever of our theories. The giving of the one means life and liberty ; the imposing of the other means death and slavery. Religion in India is very much in the position of science in Europe in the days of scholasticism. It is deductive, speculative, imaginary, to a degree commensurate with the luxuriance characteristic of tropical growth. The Indian mind has retreated into its innermost recesses, and oblivious of the whole universe outside, has constructed a universe for itself, spinning it like a spider spins its web, and like the spider, rarely if ever venturing outside the web it has spun. The West has produced an idealism as

absolute as that of the East, but that idealism has never woven itself into the texture of Western thought as it has done into Eastern. It has been confined to the few, in the West; it pervades the thought of all, in the East. A Hindu once asked a missionary what was the distance between truth and falsehood. The Western at once replied, "As far as the East is from the West." "No," answered the Hindu, "the distance is a hand-breadth"; and placing his hand on the side of his face, he covered the distance between eye and ear, remarking that that which the eye sees is truth, while that which the ear hears is falsehood. His truth and falsehood however, were both limited to the realm of experience, a realm which to the *true* Hindu is purely illusive. He would probably explain the difference between true and false knowledge as the difference between thought and sensation. To him, the mind and the mind only, is trustworthy; the senses, dealing only with the world of illusion, are purely deceptive. The mind he regards as the eye of the soul, while the senses are but the ear; and the difference between their presentations is the real difference between true and false knowledge. The Hindu has been trained to reason, he has not been trained to observe. He can take to pieces the most intricate problem, he can put together the most elaborate theory; but in the recognition and due significance of the most patent facts, he is most

palpably at fault. In the matter of religion therefore, it is the truth in Christianity, and not our formulation of that truth, which India needs for her moral and spiritual regeneration. She will construct her own formulas and elaborate her own theories. It is the quickening of soul, and not of intellect, for which she waits.

Amongst the first of the great truths which constitute the message of Christianity to the Hindu is that conception of the Divine nature which we owe to Jesus Christ. This truth may be variously expressed as we contemplate the Hindu conception of God. It may be stated as the truth of the personality of God, looked at from the philosophical standpoint; or it may be stated as the truth of the love of God, looked at from the ethical standpoint. Both of these expressions set forth a truth about God which has never taken its rightful place in the Hindu mind. The fuller conception however is best expressed as that consciousness of God which is characteristic of Christ. When Christ speaks of the Father, an impression is produced in the mind, that the terms express a relationship between God and man which is not the result of speculative thought, but of the knowledge which comes from the consciousness of a real and personal relation. The question of the divinity of Christ is not here under discussion. It is purely a question of that knowledge which is the result of a living and abiding relation. Christ

speaks with an accent which only the deepest consciousness of intimate relationship between Himself and God could produce. This note is not an occasional one, heard in a few isolated expressions ; it is the prevailing tone in all His thought. The mere expression—the Fatherhood of God—is not peculiar to Christ ; it is found both in Judaism and in Hinduism. The rich contents of the expression however, as contained in the teaching of Jesus, can be found nowhere else. Hinduism knows nothing of it, and indeed can know nothing of it, for its conception of God does not allow it. In Hinduism, fatherhood as applied to God is nothing more than a figure of speech, expressing one of the numerous limitations of our knowledge of God. Occasionally it is found in the writings of Hindu prophets, as distinct from the writings of Hindu philosophers ; but it is there the cry of a felt need, rather than the expression of a conscious experience. It is the pathetic cry of an orphan, not the conscious utterance of a child. The idea has never entered into the religious life of India ; it has never moulded either Hindu thought or feeling. The expression might be removed from Hinduism entirely, and it would make no difference which would be appreciable to the Hindu's conception of God or to his religious feeling. It is, in fact, the entire absence of this highest ethical conception of God which strikes the Christian in his study of Hinduism and in his

conversation with Hindus. It accounts also for the character of those stories in the Puranas which revolt the Western religious mind. The explanations which are given to account for their presence emphasise this supreme lack in the Hindu conception of the Divine. Sometimes they are explained as the mere relaxation the mind needs, to be regarded neither as moral nor as immoral. At other times they are interpreted as mere imagery, to set forth, in concrete form, abstract truth. The utter incongruity of associating such conceptions with the character of God, never seems to have struck the mind either of the writers themselves or of their defenders.

The same lack is evident in the exclusion of the ethical from the Hindu's conception of the highest knowledge—the knowledge of God, and in limiting that knowledge to the purely intellectual apprehension of Divinity. A knowledge of the character of God is conspicuously absent from the Hindu conception of the highest religious knowledge. To the Hindu mind, the highest knowledge of God has, strictly speaking, no ethical content at all. God is not conceived as either moral or immoral, but as unmoral. He fills the mind of the worshipper with an awe which is speechless, inexpressible, and overpowering; but He never inspires that true reverence of which an ethical admiration is the chief constituent. This striking defect in the Hindu conception of

God, has had a powerful influence on the religious life of India. The author of *Ecce Homo*, in a passage pregnant with deep insight, says, "No virtue is safe that is not enthusiastic, no nature is pure that is not passionate." The Hindu mind would have difficulty in appreciating, or even in acknowledging, the truth of such a statement. Virtue excites respect, but it calls forth no enthusiasm. Purity, in an ethical sense, elicits approval, but it evokes no passionate devotion. For the woman, virtue; for the man, knowledge; these are the two ideals respectively of Hindu thought. It is because the intellectual is regarded as essentially higher than the ethical, that virtue occupies a lower place than knowledge. Virtue is the highest ideal to which the woman can attain. For the man, there is one which is higher far, namely, knowledge.

For the same reason the question of the justice of God has never exercised the Hindu mind as it has done the mind of the Western. You never meet with that passionate revolt at what is felt to be injustice on the part of God, which is common with us in the West. In his conception of God, the sense of an ethical norm, to which the action of God Himself must conform, is entirely absent; and therefore the ways of Providence need no justification. India is religious through and through, but her religion needs to become ethical. Her supreme want therefore, is that knowledge

of God which has come to the world through Jesus Christ. The Hindu can absorb all our Western science, and assimilate all our Western philosophy, and his life can remain utterly unaffected. It is the contact of ethical Christian thought, which alone leaves him with the sense of something lacking ; and the only Hindu religious life which shows any sign of real vitality, is that which has resulted from the response the Hindu mind has made to the touch of ethical, as distinct from theological, Christian thought. The distinctly religious movements represented by the Brahmo Somaj and other kindred societies are directly traceable to this contact. The less distinctively religious movement, represented by the Theosophical Society, owes a great measure of its success to the fact that its members are largely composed of those who in mission schools and colleges have felt the same contact, and to the further significant fact that Mrs. Besant has transfused Hinduism with the ethical spirit of her inherited Christianity.

Another of the conceptions in the message of Christianity to India is that ideal of manhood which we have derived from the life and ministry of Jesus. This conception may also be differently expressed as we contemplate the ideal of the Hindu with which it is contrasted. Just as in the conception of God there is no true realisation of what we call personality, so in the Hindu's

conception of man there is no true realisation of what we call individuality. In the same way there is no adequate conception of the ethical relationship in which man stands to God, or of that in which he stands to his fellow. These conceptions however are more fully expressed as that ideal of manhood due to Jesus Christ. Hinduism has produced a very definite type of manhood, but it is a type in which individuality is reduced to a minimum. In its fundamental thought individuality is not a good to be striven for; it is an incubus to be got rid of. Man is not a child of God bearing in finite form the characteristics of the infinite Father; he is a particle of the infinite whole, suffering under the delusion that he is a separate entity. There is no country in the world where the philosophical and religious ideas of the few have so penetrated into the thought of the many as in India. Hinduism has set itself the task of destroying individuality, and it has succeeded to a remarkable degree. In later times it has sought to counteract the effect of its fundamental idea, by the introduction of an alternative method of arriving at its goal, wherein scope might be left for the activities of life. It has however never relinquished its goal, nor has it ever desired to. The device, moreover, was essentially a compromise of the ideal with the actual; and to the Hindu mind, the ideal has always been more attractive than the actual. The

compromise itself was only another way to the same goal, and that other way was equally fatal to any true development of individuality. It insisted, with all the authority of that final court of appeal, religion, that for the multitude the goal could only be secured by absolute fidelity to the rules and regulations of the caste system.

Whatever may be urged for the caste system, looked at as an attempt to organise society, nothing has ever been invented which has proved more destructive to that individuality without which progress is impossible. Let any one impartially consider the position in which the Hindu finds himself as the result of these ideas, and he will see that no system could be more fatal in its effects on individual and social life. By its doctrine of Karma, Hinduism teaches the Hindu that his birth into the particular environment in which he finds himself, is the result of his own actions in a series of existences stretching back into infinity. It may be thought that such a view increases his sense of responsibility, and enables him to realise the immense importance of actions. As a matter of practical experience it has just the very opposite effect. It is the impersonal law of Karma to which all the responsibility is transferred ; and it is the utter helplessness of the individual in the grip of such a law, which is the excuse readily offered for the sin of which he is guilty. No one with the slightest acquaintance with Hindu society

can deny that this is the practical effect which Hinduism has produced, and theoretically it can be demonstrated that such an effect is inevitable. It is a well-known fact that pain, beyond a certain maximum, ceases to be pain. The nerves can only respond up to a certain point, beyond which sensitiveness becomes insensitiveness. In the same way the human mind can only feel a certain amount of responsibility. Try to increase it beyond its maximum, and it fails to respond at all. From being sensitive it passes into insensibility. The responsibility which the law of Karma tries to fix upon the human mind, is out of all proportion to its capabilities. It is the attempt to fix upon a temporary consciousness, a burden of guilt which needs an eternal consciousness. The temporary consciousness stops short at the present existence, and refuses the further responsibility thrust upon it. It can do no other, for it is impossible to be conscious of responsibility for that which lies beyond consciousness. The supposed connection between the deed and the doer does not exist in the mind. The man is taught that an eternal law has fixed the connection, and he therefore attributes the responsibility to that law. The mind obeys the laws of thought, and the laws of thought establish a connection between that, and that alone, which the mind perceives to stand in the relation of cause and effect.

There is a similar fatality which attaches itself

to the responsibility which Hinduism seeks to connect with present action. Life is not looked at as a growth, in which the individual passes on from stage to stage, his character ever modified by successive thought, and feeling, and action; it is rather the conception of a physical force, gradually expending its present energy, but, according to the great law of the conservation of energy, merely transforming itself into actions, not one of which is lost, but all of which will be gathered together again for a fresh manifestation in a succeeding age. The consequence is that the emphasis is placed not on what we call character, but on the series of deeds which the man performs. These, whether good or bad, inexorably determine destiny, and prevent that final emancipation for which the soul of the Hindu craves. The real significance of the deed is exaggerated, and a power is associated with it which reduces the doer to the position of a mere puppet, hopelessly under the dominion of his own deeds. The man is never greater than his deeds; the deeds are greater than the man. The result is that all incentive to the formation of character is taken away; the sense of responsibility for present action is thrust upon past actions, and the man becomes the mere sport of fate, from whose all-powerful influence it is impossible to escape.

What India needs is that consciousness of the possession of a selfhood, a soul, which makes man

akin to God, holding the reins of destiny in his own hands, responsible for that character and individuality which it is the supreme purpose of life to evolve. The Hindu has lost his soul in the universe, and his only conception of salvation is to lose it still more effectually in Divinity. The attainment of self-consciousness, which in the West is regarded as the crown and flower of the evolutionary process, is to the Hindu a bane and not a blessing, an evil and not a good. He does not regard it as the promise of a still richer development, he does not respond to it as the call to a still more abundant life, but on the contrary, he sees in it the source of all his pain, and looks forward to its extinction as the only possibility of deliverance. That conception of man as a child of God, the heir of an eternal life fuller and ever more abounding, which we owe to the consciousness of Jesus, is the one thing lacking to complete and bring to fruition the immense resources of the Hindu religious nature. No race in the world has been so richly endowed with spiritual capacities as the Hindu, but he has become the slave to a conception of the universe evolved out of his own imagination, which has paralysed his whole being. To no one has Christ's declaration—I have come that they might have life, and have it more abundantly—greater significance. The West is more or less under the tyranny of the material, and her religious life is only won by the severest

conflict. India, on the other hand, is the firstborn of all the nations in her emancipation from the slavery of the material, and her enthusiastic devotion to a spiritual view of the universe. She has never mistaken the canvas and pigments and gilded frame for the reality of that Divine work of art which confronts us in the universe, but has always felt that beneath the external there was an inner meaning which it was of priceless value to discover, and of utmost loss to miss. Her own imagination has hitherto been substituted for the reality she has failed to find. She needs that revelation of life which Christ has given, and when she sees it, she will yield to none in her appreciation of its wondrous beauty.

Another great conception of which India stands in need is that of the world as a revelation of the Father, a basis upon which the whole of Christ's teaching rests. It is the truth that matter is the medium for the manifestation of spirit, that the universe is the expression of mind. The incarnation, when rightly interpreted, is the highest expression of this truth; and the life of Christ is an eternal witness to the fact that the temporal expression is a real, even though limited, revelation of the eternal ideal. The Hindu thought is almost the exact opposite of this conception, and its influence has been felt throughout the whole of Hindu life. The world of matter is, to the Hindu, not merely an unreal world, in the sense

that the true reality is underlying it; it is essentially a deceptive world as well. The real meaning is purposely concealed, the medium of manifestation is not simply defective, it is a distortion. God is not revealed in nature, He is concealed. The clothing is not a garment which sets off the figure, it is a disguise which is deceptive. The favourite illustration of a piece of rope which is mistaken for a snake, is intended to show that the reality is totally different from and opposed to the manifestation. The piece of rope is really a snake; the snake is really a piece of a rope; or else it is something different from both. Man, therefore, is for ever walking in the night; and that which he perceives, instead of enlightening, only deceives him. Under such conditions the blind man is at a greater advantage than the man who sees, for he is less deceived. The Hindu sage accordingly deliberately shuts his eyes to the whole phenomenal world, and sets himself to walk according to that knowledge, so-called, which he evolves by the process of thought.

To turn from such a conception of the universe to that which is at the basis of Christ's thought, is to pass from an unreal world of deluding sights and sounds into the clear bright sunshine of a world of the true and the beautiful. The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth His handiwork; day unto day uttereth

speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge. To Christ, the world was a revelation of the mind and heart of God, upon which He was never tired of looking, and from which He drew the choicest illustrations of the Father's mind and will. "If God so clothe the grass of the field, how much more will He clothe you? Consider the lilies, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin: and yet I say unto you that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. Consider the ravens, which have neither storehouse nor barn, and your Father feedeth them. Why therefore are ye anxious about food and clothing? God sendeth His rain upon the just and upon the unjust, and causeth His sun to shine upon the good and evil alike."

Perhaps one of the most serious results which a false conception of the universe has had on the Hindu mind, is the failure to see any revelation of those eternal laws whose working reveal the mind and will of God. Of the true reign of law in the physical world, with its clear definitions of the limits of the possible and of the impossible, its negation of the capricious and of the fortuitous, the Hindu seems to have no conception. The marvellous, the magical, the miraculous, stand far more firmly fixed in his conception of the universe than their opposites. The wonderful achievements of modern science are insignificant to him in comparison with the calm assertion of possibilities

achievable by the elect few of the present and the hosts of the past, possessed of miraculous power. Nature therefore has nothing to teach him of ordered processes, no lessons to enforce of the just relation irrevocably fixed between effort and result, no revelation of the eternal distinction between the true and the false.

In the same way, but with even more serious results on the national life, history as a revelation of God's providential dealing with the race is practically unknown. So completely has the essential unreality of the phenomenal impressed itself upon the Hindu mind, that between history and mythology there is no distinction. To the ordinary Hindu the mythological has as much authority as the historical. The great moral lessons, the working out of great ethical principles in the life of humanity, which a study of history reveals, are matters with which the Hindu mind has absolutely no concern, and with which, in fact, it is totally unacquainted. In no country in the world has a nation's experience left so little impression on national thought as in India. She might have had no history, for all the influence it has made upon her mind. Every age has been, as far as thought and life are concerned, a simple re-incarnation of the preceding age. Mighty empires have risen and fallen; great dynasties have waxed and waned; highest prosperity has been followed by deepest adversity, but they

have had no lesson to teach, and they have produced hardly any impression on the Hindu mind, for that mind has all along dwelt in a world of its own creation, oblivious of the external. The Hindu fakir, sitting unmoved alike by sun or rain, heat or cold, light or darkness, the claims of hunger, the ties of family, the smiles or frowns of fortune, with thought turned within, is the fitting emblem of the nation, as it is the cherished ideal of the Hindu mind. If India is to take her rightful place amongst the nations of the world, the Hindu must realise that the world in which he lives, and moves, and has his being, is essentially God's world, a cosmos of order, not a chaos of confusion ; that the material is a fitting, and in fact the only, expression in time of the mind and will of God ; that moral law is an indication of the character of God, and that human life is the field of the Divine activity. This is the message which Christianity has to give, and its reception means a new India risen from the dead past, and taking a foremost place in the life as well as in the thought of the race.

Intimately connected with these other great aspects of the message of Christianity to India is its pre-eminent message of salvation ; a salvation which is concerned not with death but with life, not with an imaginary and unreal future, but with a real and very terrible present. In no aspect does Hinduism present a more hopeless defect in

its influence on life and conduct than in its complete lack of anything which can be rightly called a message of salvation. Hinduism is familiar with the term, it has a most definite conception of what it means by salvation, it has estimated aright the absolute necessity of salvation ; but of the reality underlying the word, of any conception of what is involved in humanity's need, and of any realisation of how that need is to be met and supplied, Hinduism is singularly deficient. If the other defects are carefully considered, it will be evident that this is necessarily the case. If man is nothing more than a detached particle of the universal whole ; if his self-consciousness is nothing but a pure delusion ; if his births and re-births are but the working of an impersonal law of Karma, which prevents his falling back into that primal source from which in an evil hour he was cast forth ; then it is obvious that salvation must consist in the absolute destruction of that individuality which is the cause of all his woes. It is however, as far as all that makes the man is concerned, not salvation, but its opposite. He is only man as he has individuality, a self-consciousness which separates him from the whole. If salvation is the destruction of this self-consciousness, then the man is saved only as he ceases to be. Salvation in Hinduism is not salvation unto life, but salvation from life.

This aspect is emphasised in every part of the

system, which is remarkably consistent. The Hindu has recognised that it is by action that individuality is preserved, and that this preservation must equally take place, whether the moral quality of the act be good or bad. He has accordingly extolled inaction as not only superior to action, but as the absolute essential for the attainment of the goal he has set before himself. Virtue is not manhood come to maturity; it is a manhood deprived of all virility. Its attainment is not the possession of a richer life; it is the attainment of a quicker exit from life. In the next birth the virtuous man will be able to attain a greater degree of inactivity, and will thus be speeded on his path to that ultimate extinction of individuality in which salvation consists. There has been a good deal of discussion as to whether Nirvana, the Hindu goal, is a positive or a negative term, and both views have found earnest advocates. It is doubtless both, for no mind could rest in pure negation. The negative aspect of it, however, is the chief concern, for it is the denial of all that connected with life, of which we have any experience. Its positive contents, if any, are connected with mere counters, the value of which we have no means of determining. Life destitute of self-consciousness, devoid of all individuality, separated by an impassable gulf from all human activity, is a term from which all the known constituents have been emptied. To the living, it

conveys no other meaning than annihilation, whatever it may convey to the dead.

In the Hindu conception of salvation, the good no less than the bad deed is a link in the chain which binds him to the wheel of life; and the sage who realises this, will abstain from the one no less than from the other. It is emphasised again in that detachment from the world of active life which has given birth to an asceticism without rival in any land or among any people. To the Hindu, the senses are so many tentacles ever stretching out into the phenomenal world. That world however is the spider's web in which man is entangled; and the more the senses are exercised, the more hopelessly is the man entangled. The strenuous life therefore, is to the Hindu sage the mere struggle and striving of the fly in the spider's web, and only results in a more complete bondage. In the Hindu conception of salvation accordingly, the active, the intellectual, the moral pursuits of life, have absolutely no part or lot. That quickening of life which in the West is associated with any salvation worthy of the name, is completely foreign to Hindu thought. Tennyson's lines, expressive of the highest aspirations of the soul—

> 'Tis life, whereof our nerves are scant,
> 'Tis life, not death, for which we pant;
> More life, and fuller, that I want—

are quite inconsistent with the deepest Hindu religious thought.

When we turn to the Hindu conception of sin, with which we naturally associate salvation, we are struck with the fact that there is practically no real connection. To the Hindu, sin is not the supreme evil from which salvation is ever really sought. It is, in fact, not evil in a moral sense at all. Life is the real evil from which he seeks deliverance; that necessity for re-birth which the law of Karma imposes upon him is the real bond from which he seeks release. Sin, in the sense of a moral offence against the law of true life, is unknown to Hindu thought. There is a sense in which the Hindu might accept the definition of sin as selfishness. Selfishness however would simply mean to him not a moral choice, the self-determined isolation of the individual from his divine environment, but an inevitable delusion imposed upon him from without, and without any moral content at all. It is to him a synonym for self-consciousness, the inevitable associate of individuality. To his mind, this selfishness must continue as long as individuality continues. Salvation from sin therefore, in an ethical sense, the Hindu mind has never really conceived, and therefore it has no desire for it. Salvation from the consequences of sin, it cannot be too strongly pointed out, the Hindu never anticipates. From the law of Karma there is absolutely no escape;

nor has the Hindu, it should be noted, ever conceived of the possibility of avoiding the consequences of his deeds. Between reaping and sowing there is an eternal connection, and no power of gods or of men can ever alter it. The payment of the last farthing is the unalterable conviction of the Hindu mind. He will have nothing to do therefore, with easy and superficial methods of getting rid of the consequences of his deeds, nor of reaping where he has not sown. Whatever methods of evasion of payment there may be in time, there are none in eternity. However much he may reap the fruit of other men's toil here, he never anticipates doing so there.

It is of supreme importance that in the theories and schemes we present for his acceptance, we should bear these facts in mind. To the Hindu, action, of whatever kind, is the setting in motion of a force which must spend itself. There is absolutely no escape from its influence. In this respect therefore, the virtuous and the vicious act are on the same plane, and are both alike hindrances in the path of the soul. Life is a journal account, in which each birth corresponds to a month's entries, when the balance is struck and carried forward. An increase in the balance on either side means the continuation of the account. The balance however, is expressed in terms of attachment to, or detachment from, life as we know it. The quality of the actions affects the balance,

tending to make it either a debit or a credit; and therefore a meritorious act is better than its opposite, but the less of either which the entry shows, the better for the final goal to be attained. The effect of this conception is to give to sin the character of an error in calculation rather than of a moral vice. It denotes a lack of intellectual rather than of true ethical appreciation. Its effect on destiny is emphasised, but its effect on character is ignored. From the standpoint of character, the exercise of charity is as beneficial, whoever the recipient may be; and the crime of murder is as harmful, whoever the victim may be. This, however, is not the standpoint of Hinduism. To give charity to the well-fed Brahmin is of far greater value than to relieve the destitution of the Pariah; to slay a Brahmin is a far more heinous crime than to slay a Pariah. These religious and philosophical ideas have given a very definite shape to the Hindu conception of life, and have had a most pernicious effect on Hindu character. The actualities of life have to some extent counteracted the effects which are the logical outcome of such conceptions, but it must never be forgotten that the Hindu is far more responsive to what he considers to be the ideal, than he is to that which he recognises as the actual. To the actual he gives the response of a slave; to the ideal the response of a son.

One of the greatest services Christianity can render to India is to emphasise the ethical value of

life, the supreme importance of character. The Christian conception of salvation as the complete moral transformation of life, a radical reconstruction of his environment on the lines of the Divine ideal as revealed in the life and teaching of Jesus, is that one thing which the Hindu needs for the realisation of capabilities at present lying dormant in his nature. Sin has to be seen in the light of the cross, in the death agony of the Divine Ideal. It is there that the real effect of man's actual on God's ideal can alone be perceived. The Hindu has seen sin as a hindrance to the attainment of his own imaginary ideal ; he has not seen it as the destruction of the Divine ideal. He has regarded it as a deformity inherited from birth ; he has not seen it as a disease acquired by unhealthy living, and fatal in its results. To the Hindu, salvation is a mechanical process started in an eternity which is behind him, to be completed in an eternity which is in front of him ; and in that process his own part consists in absolute passivity. It has absolutely no moral contents, it calls forth no moral enthusiasm, it makes demand upon no divine moral effort. In such a conception, each one concentrates his attention upon the salvation of his own soul, and takes no thought for the soul of his neighbour. The Hindu has yet to learn the infinite and eternal value of the individual, the indissoluble connection between his own and his brother's salvation. He has to realise that life's value con-

sists in the positive acquisition of character, and not in the negative dissipation of characteristics. He has to discover that the evolution of the individual and of society according to the Divine purpose, and not the annihilation of the individual and the arrest of all social advancement, are the true goals which are set before us.

Christianity has a message of life, and of life more abundantly, for which India has been waiting through the long hours of the darkest night. Her soul however, is not dead, in spite of all that her spiritual doctors have done to extinguish the spark of life. There is already the stirring of returning life. The maid is not dead but sleeping, and when once the house has been cleared of all those who do but bemoan the vanity of life, the voice of Christ will bring back again the far-off soul, and the maid will arise to take her rightful place in the family of man.

The supreme message of Christianity to India however, is the revelation of the Christ of God. *An ideal that has been realised is the supreme need of the Hindu mind.* That mind has been at work on the construction of ideals all through the ages, but it has been supremely indifferent, not merely to actuality, but equally to reality. It has constructed its own ideal of what the universe ought to be, but it has been contemptuously indifferent to what the universe actually is. In the religious sphere the Hindu is essentially a mystic,

in the philosophical a pure idealist, and in the scientific a mere theorist. His astronomy has never been anything more than astrology, his chemistry has never advanced beyond alchemy, his botany has never progressed beyond herbalism. The external world has never been to him that ultimate reality, by which all his theories and speculations must be tested. He has always regarded it as unreal, a mere illusion, which the wise man recognises as such, and which the fool fails to recognise. He has consequently never possessed any test of reality beyond that which his own mind could supply, with the result that the wildest speculation has had as much validity as the most sober judgment. Since the external world has never been regarded by him as a test of reality, the realisation of his ideals has never been a supreme concern with him ; to have an ideal is of far more importance than to realise it; to dream noble deeds is of far greater value than to do them.

The idea of a divine incarnation is perfectly familiar to the Hindu, but it is always an assumption of a disguise which conceals the god, never that expressed image which reveals him. To the Hindu, matter is not a medium for the expression of thought ; it is essentially an unreal appearance, in which the ideal is distorted and disguised. In the same way human life is not a sphere in which divine ideals can be realised ; it is

an imprisonment of the soul, escape from which is the deepest yearning of the heart. Just as the universe is no revelation to him of the mind and thought of God, so also is he equally destitute of any revelation in human life of the character of God. The knowledge of God as He stands in relation to man, the knowledge of man as he stands in relation to God, these are what the Hindu needs; and he can find them nowhere but in the Christ. Jesus is that supreme revelation both of God and of man for which India has waited long. She does not want our theological conceptions of Christ, our theories of atonement, and our schemes of salvation; she wants to see Jesus for herself, to experience that oneness with God which comes from a sympathy with the crucified, that sense of salvation which comes from the pulsation of a bounding religious life. We are but disciples of whom she is asking the way, and we shall be wise if we take her to the Jesus whom she desires to see.

The worship of Krishna is undoubtedly the latest development of Hindu religious thought. It seems highly probable that its development was due to the contact of early Christianity with India. Whether this were so or not, it reveals the consciousness on the part of the Hindu of his great defect in the knowledge of God, and the attempt he made to supply that defect. Of all Hindu worship that of Krishna is the most popular; and

its popularity is due to the attempt which has been made therein to bring God into intimate relation with man. The story of Krishna appeals to the Hindu heart, and calls forth a passionate devotion which metaphysical Hinduism was powerless to produce. Amongst the common people it is the Krishna of the Puranas who holds sway over the heart; amongst the more thoughtful classes it is the Krishna of the Bhagavadgita who embodies the highest thought and the most profound wisdom. The choice of the future in India really lies between Krishna and Christ; and when once India has really caught a vision of Jesus the Christ, there is little doubt as to the issue. The synoptic gospels will replace the Puranas, the gospel of John and of Paul will replace the Bhagavadgita.

CHAPTER V

THE CHRISTIANISATION OF INDIA

In considering the question of the founding of the empire of Christ in India, it is difficult, if not impossible, to avoid touching on questions of a controversial nature, or of seeming to criticise methods which have been sanctioned by long usage, sanctified by the greatest names, and, in the opinion of most, amply justified by results. It should, however, be distinctly understood that controversy is not the object, nor is mere criticism the intention with which this chapter is written. The work which confronts the Church in founding the empire of Christ in the East, is too vast and too urgent for those engaged in it to spend time in either a barren controversy or a disparaging criticism. Whether the new religious thought of to-day is superior to the old of yesterday, or whether it is even a nearer approach to a correct statement of truth, is altogether beside the real and pressing question of the hour. The vital fact which both old and new theologians have alike to recognise is that the standpoint has altered, and

that the alteration is due to the time-spirit by which we are all surrounded, and to whose influence we are all in different measure compelled to yield. For those who occupy the old standpoint the new thought is out of focus; for those who occupy the new standpoint the older thought is the view which is of necessity behind them, but not on that account any the less real. Both have alike to recognise that the expression of our faith alters, the horizon of our hope enlarges, but the exercise of the love which abides, and of the charity which never fails, is the evidence needed in every age of the spirit of Christ.

Missionary methods are the outcome of our conception of the nature of the missionary task. They must be estimated on the principle of the adaptation of means which are right, to secure ends which are justifiable. If anything is here said which seems to be condemnatory in character, it must be understood as only applying to any method, either old or new, when regarded as *the* means, and the only means, of arriving at the true goal of all our efforts. There is probably not a single patent medicine in the world which is not of some value for some particular ailment, and there is not a single cure-all which does not on the whole do more harm than good. In the same way there is probably no missionary method which has not its legitimate use, and there is not one of them which, when elevated to the supreme position of being regarded as *the* method *par excellence*, does not

produce harm as well as good. It is not by the publication of bogus testimonials that any patent medicine wins its way, but by the publication of genuine ones and the simple device of ignoring all failures. Missionary methods must not be judged simply by their successes, but also by their failures; not by the numbers who are brought to a profession of Christianity, but also by the numbers who are thereby alienated from Christ. The evangelising of India is not the same thing as the proselytising of Hindus. To accomplish the former, there is need for the greatest variety of method; to effect the latter, one is probably as good as another.

The subject of this chapter has been called the Christianisation of India rather than the conversion of India, because it best expresses that conception of the nature of the Church's missionary task which it is desired to make prominent. As we conceive of the nature of the task, so shall we estimate the sufficiency and suitability of the methods we employ. The missionary enterprise can be looked at from two very different standpoints. It can be regarded as the endeavour to effect the salvation of the individual, or the salvation of the race. It may, of course, in the wider sense be regarded as the endeavour to effect both. Attention is here directed to the two as in contrast the one with the other, because it is necessary to emphasise the change of standpoint which is char-

acteristic of our present altered theological thought. The salvation of the individual was without doubt the great conception of those who started the modern missionary effort of a century ago, and the methods adopted were all aimed at securing that particular result. The conception of the salvation of the race however, has gradually come to the front, and in proportion as the greatness of the task is perceived, the inadequacy of our present methods, and possibly the unsuitability of some of them, are becoming more and more prominent.

The exact distinction between these two conceptions may not at first sight appear to be of importance, and to some even it may appear to be a distinction without a difference. They may ask how a people can be saved, in the Christian sense of the word, except by the salvation of its individuals; how can India be Christianised, in any real sense, save by making converts of individual Hindus? The question itself, emphasises the fact which is of supreme importance, that the aim is one, and the real difference is entirely a difference of method. The salvation of the individual culminates in the salvation of the race, the salvation of the race involves the salvation of the individual. The methods, however, which are employed will considerably vary as the attention is concentrated either on the individual or on the race. It is this difference of concentration which is characteristic of the modern mind. We are more concerned

with questions which affect the salvation of society than with those which stop short at the salvation of the individual. The modern mind realises more vividly and feels more keenly that the two are bound together, and that a salvation, to be complete, must be one which includes both the individual, and the society of which he is a member who can neither resign nor be expelled. Discussions as to which of these two views is correct may be inevitable, and much friction may be generated in consequence. The real work which is waiting to be done would be considerably advanced, if both advocates would realise that it is the task which confronts us which is of supreme importance, and that our standpoints and our views are only of consequence as they enable us to see our work in its truest light, and to do it in the best way. The discussion will be useful and helpful only as we keep in mind the true relation between standpoint and view. They who would estimate aright the newer view must occupy the newer standpoint; they who would rightly appreciate the older view must look at it from the older standpoint. Those to whom a return or an advance is alike impossible had best confine their energies to the task they have perceived.

To the older theology, India was a ship on the rocks, and the missionary was the lifeboatman engaged in the task of picking up the few survivors who were swept within his reach, and who,

if he failed to reach them, were carried away to eternal destruction. To the modern mind, on the other hand, India is a ship which is salvable, not on the rocks but aground ; and the real missionary enterprise is not that of picking up a few survivors from a hopeless wreck, but of bringing the ship into port with all on board. There is sufficient truth in the illustration to justify its use for the purpose of marking the contrast between the newer and the older conception of the Church's task. The missionary who set off in his lifeboat has got on board, examined the condition of the vessel, sounded the depth of water in the hold, seen the crowded condition of the decks, and been forced to the conclusion that the lifeboat is inadequate to the task. If the people are to be saved, the ship itself must be brought into port. Above all he has realised that *the people will not leave the ship*. This last fact must be grasped by the Christian Church with all that it signifies, if its cry of India for Christ is to have any real meaning. The great work amongst the outcaste population has been the pressing work of picking up those who have been swept overboard, and of whose welfare those who remained on board were callously indifferent. We have landed them on sandbanks and desert islands, and supplied them with as much of our stores as we could give, but the question of their future is one of grave anxiety. It has been a noble work, and worthy of all the consecrated and heroic effort

which has been spent upon it, *but it is not the salvation of India.* We must not shut our eyes to the fact that the India we have come to save, is a ship which is aground; and that the true task which confronts us is that of getting her floated, her damages repaired, her disorganised crew and distracted passengers organised and encouraged, so that she may proceed on her way to the port to which she is bound. Nothing short of that will satisfy the soul of India, and nothing short of that will fulfil the sacred obligation which rests upon the Church of Christ. The illustration here used is only an illustration, and its details can easily be criticised, but it fairly represents the difference between the newer and the older views of missionary work, and it is to emphasise that difference that it is alone employed.

This difference in the conception of the goal before us is necessarily accompanied by a difference in the means by which that goal is to be attained. The emphasis of our modern thought has not simply passed from creed and opinion to life, it has constituted life the supreme judge of creed and opinion. We have come to realise that the great force at the heart of creation is one which makes for life, and life in fuller measure. The supreme test therefore, is no longer logical exactness, but life-producing and life-sustaining efficiency. Let any one compare the interest excited by some scientific discovery, with the interest

aroused by the discovery of a new application of science in the realm of the practical, and he will realise that the modern mind expresses its judgments in all departments in terms of life-value rather than in terms which express agreement or disagreement with the principles of abstract reasoning. The one question which it asks of scientist, philosopher, and theologian alike, is Cui Bono, but it asks it with the energy and hopefulness of ruddy health, not with the lassitude and ennui of an anæmic frame. In contemplating the missionary enterprise therefore, the attention is concentrated not on the quantity of converts to Christianity, but on the quality of the religious life which Christianity can produce. It is interested in a quickened religious life and thought in India, as well as in a larger Christian community. It believes that the question of the success or failure of Christianity in the East must be decided not by the simple method of counting heads, but by the far more difficult method of feeling the pulse and estimating aright the indication it gives of a fuller and healthier life.

This changed standpoint will review our methods in the light of its conception of the larger aim which it contemplates. It will insist that the true aim of the Western Church is to give to India a deeper religious life, and not what it may conceive to be more correct religious opinions; and it will demand that the larger aim shall

occupy the paramount position. It would be a mistake to suppose that in thus emphasising the distinction between creed and life, the modern mind fails to appreciate the connection which exists between the two, or that it in any sense confounds mere civilisation with that which in contradistinction may be called Christianisation. It distinguishes however between thought and the expression of thought, between the translation of words and the translation of ideas, between creeds and the truth every creed of necessity limits and confines. It believes that thought can be and ought to be propagated; but it equally believes that its expressions must not be translated, except from the original, and that the translation must invariably be idiomatic. Christian truth can be and ought to be propagated in India, where it will inevitably produce a richer and fuller religious life. It is India's supreme need, and apart from that truth, her religious life shows no sign now, as it has shown no sign for ages, of any quickening whatever. Christian truth however must be left to find its own expression; the translation must be into the vernacular of to-day, not into the Sanscrit of yesterday; and it must be perfectly idiomatic. The task of the Western Church, a task for which it has been destined by the providence of God, and for which it is not yet fully qualified, is to propagate Christian thought in terms of life-value. To that task everything must

be subordinated, and to its successful accomplishment all our missionary methods should be devised.

In the light of this exposition of the nature of the work, a few remarks may be made on two matters closely connected with this great task of establishing the empire of Christ in India. The one is the distinctively Christian institution of Baptism, the other is the distinctively Hindu institution of Caste. Both are here contemplated solely from the standpoint of a sound and wise missionary statesmanship. The views here presented may not conform to that standpoint; and if they do not, they should be unhesitatingly rejected. They should not however be considered from any other standpoint, nor rejected on any other ground. With baptism in any doctrinal sense, or with caste in any religious or social sense, we are not here concerned. The adoption of the one, and the rejection of the other, are simply considered in the light of the place they ought to occupy in the work of the Christianisation of India. At present, it may fairly be stated, the two are as a rule regarded by both Christian and Hindu, as the essentials to any acceptance of Christian truth. To the Hindu, they are the immediate consequences of listening to the missionary; to the missionary, they are the anticipated results of any earnest and serious consideration of his message by the Hindu. Now it may reasonably be

asked whether such an association is either necessary or advisable, and whether the two must be even contemporaneous events in the Hindu's approach to the Christian faith? To put it in another way, ought we only to contemplate the impossibility of a Hindu being a Christian save by being baptized and giving up caste, without at the same time contemplating the equal possibility of a man breaking his caste and receiving baptism while still remaining a Hindu? Is it not a matter of experience on the part of most missionaries that both cases are equally well known, and almost as commonly met with? There are secret disciples in Hinduism of whom we hear a good deal, and there are secret Hindus in the Christian community of whom we hear very little.

But if this is so, and it will hardly be denied, what is the exact value of baptism from the standpoint of a Christian propaganda? It is doubtless true that baptism, with its generally accompanying rejection of caste, is a burning of the boats behind him on the part of the convert, which may, and often does, incite him to press forward into the new world of religious experience open to him in Christianity. This is probably the chief advantage which can be urged on its behalf, and its advantage in this respect no one will question. It is an advantage however, which directly affects the individual, and only very indirectly the India which is still to be Christianised. On the other hand

the shock to the religious thought and feeling of the Hindu community, which such a step invariably produces, is too well known and too deeply deplored to need amplification. Looked at solely from the standpoint here emphasised, the advantage to the one life is counterbalanced by unintentional, but none the less real and lasting injury to the many. There is no intention of underestimating the positive good that is undoubtedly attained by a courageous stand for right and truth on the part of one who is convinced that no other course is open to him. That, however, is very remotely connected with the question under discussion. That question is not the abolition of baptism, but its true and proper place in the missionary propaganda.

There is very little doubt in the mind of most of those who are well acquainted with either Hindu or Christian thought in India, that baptism and the breaking of caste have been elevated to a position out of all proportion to their intrinsic merits. To the Hindu, the breaking of caste is regarded as the chief object of the missionary's advent; the baptism of converts is looked upon as the be-all and end-all of his existence. One of the commonest conceptions of the Hindu is that the missionary is remunerated on a system of payments by result, and that the scale is a graduated one corresponding to the status of the different castes. To the convert, baptism is considered that final goal of

Christianity, to reach which he must make the one supreme effort of his life; and having made it, he may settle down into an assured spiritual content which will remain undisturbed for the rest of his life, both here and hereafter. It must of course be understood that in calling attention to the unreal position which baptism and the breaking of caste occupy in the Hindu mind, we are dealing with the caste, and not with the outcaste community. From the nature of the case these ideas could not, and in fact do not, occupy the same position in the mind and thought of the outcaste population. There is the shadow of the caste system resting even on the outcaste community, and therefore the convert from those classes meets with a certain amount of persecution from his neighbours when he embraces Christianity. There is an approach to these sentiments even amongst those outside the pale of the caste system, but the substance and reality must be looked for within the pale.

It will probably be said by many, and felt by many more, that however true this representation may be, the evil is a necessary one which cannot be obviated, except by abolishing baptism altogether, and, as the Roman Catholics do, sanctioning caste within the Christian Church. The modern mind would probably not shrink from either of these steps if it were convinced of their necessity. There is however no such necessity.

All we need to do is to arrange our missionary propaganda so that the emphasis on both is shifted from outside the Church to within it. *There should be no baptism outside the Church, there should be no caste within the Church.* The missionary must feel with Paul, and make that feeling evident to all, that Christ has not sent him to baptize, but to proclaim the good news of fuller and more abounding life. Baptism must be regarded, not as something which the Hindu is entreated to accept, but as a privilege which the Christian disciple may request. It should not be the mark, that is, of the Hindu's severance from Hinduism ; it should be the token of the Christian's admission to the privileges and responsibilities of full citizenship. No reference is here intended to the theological or doctrinal aspects of the question. If some cannot consider the question apart from such considerations, they must pass on ; for the presentation of the subject here offered is one which solely concerns the propagation of Christianity amongst Hindus. In that propagation baptism has no place, and should as far as possible be rigidly excluded. Its intrusion has been of untold ill to the Christian cause, and the prominence it has assumed has wrought immense mischief both to Christians and Hindus.

It may be said that in thus emphasising the evil which has resulted from the position baptism has occupied in the missionary propaganda, the atten-

tion is being directed to a shadow, while the substance is ignored. It will probably be urged that the real opposition between Hinduism and Christianity cannot be avoided; that the renunciation of Hinduism and the rejection of caste must take place sooner or later, and that a conflict is inevitable. There is a certain amount of truth in such a statement, but that amount is strictly limited. It must be remembered that victory in war, to adopt the martial figure employed, is usually the result of the best generalship, and that the issue of a conflict has again and again turned on just that question involved in the expression, sooner or later. The contention here urged is that the prominence given to baptism precipitates the conflict *sooner* rather than later; turns into a fierce contest that which might otherwise be decided without bitterness and without strife. It is the common experience of most missionaries that the fuller acquaintance and more sympathetic treatment which the ministry of time produces, frequently result in a complete alteration of attitude on the part of a convert's relatives. From ignominious repudiation and bitter and scornful rejection of him, they gradually exhibit, first a toleration, and subsequently a sympathetic appreciation of his position, which are as beneficial in their effect upon themselves as they are welcome and benign in their influence upon him. This alteration however, takes years to accomplish, while the evil

effect which was produced upon the Hindu community never dies, but only slumbers. The gaining of a single convert often means the losing of our influence over a whole community. In the light of the wider aim of the salvation of India, the loss must be set over against the gain.

When we turn to the work amongst the outcastes, we meet with an entirely different state of things; and the striking feature which confronts us, in contrast to that just mentioned, is that success in this work almost invariably means, not a set-back, but a forward movement, with whose proportions it is generally difficult to cope. The reason is one which is well known, but the true significance of which has not yet been duly appreciated. It is that which is involved in the term mass-movement. The outcaste population embrace Christianity *not as individuals, but as communities.* They are Christianised, that is, long before they are converted; received into the Christian community and brought under Christian influence, long before they are baptized; instructed in Christian truth, long before they are admitted into the fellowship of the Church. As a general rule therefore, the outcaste Hindu remains all through in that social environment to which as a Hindu he has been accustomed, and never experiences that wrench with the past and that unnatural isolation to which the caste convert is exposed. There is no demand made upon him

for the exercise of that individual choice which is totally foreign to the Hindu character. We are of course dealing with the general characteristics of the mass-movements, and not with special and particular movements. Now the point we are seeking to emphasise, is that this method of evangelisation is in perfect harmony with the Hindu national character, and far more needful for the caste than for the outcaste community. It cannot be too strongly asserted that the evangelisation of India to be successful *must be an evangelisation on Indian lines*. The Hindu can advance only as he moves in companies. Individuality is lacking, and to demand its exercise in the most momentous concern of life, is to call for that which only the rare exceptions can supply.

It will doubtless be said that while this is true, it is outside the range of practical missionary politics. Of course we should be delighted to welcome mass-movements amongst the caste people, but there are none. To which the best answer is, Are we prepared to work for them? Christianity appealed to the outcastes because they saw in it that which would enrich their life as a community. They felt that materially, mentally, morally, and in a dim way spiritually, they would be lifted out of their degradation as a community, and as a community they accordingly embraced it. They had little to lose, they had all to gain. They were not required to make any great renunciation;

they were not cut off to any great extent from their old life or their old occupations; they had no caste to give up, while caste feeling they retained, and to a large extent even still retain. They were admitted at once to all the benefits of Christian love and Christian effort for their improvement. We must realise that if the empire of Christ is to be established in India, it will be not by individual conversions, but by mass-movements; and we must work for similar corporate action amongst the caste people. We welcomed the outcaste in spite of his degradation, and poverty, and disabilities, believing that by so doing we should ennoble his life and elevate his position, and our faith has been justified by our works. We must be equally prepared to welcome the caste man in spite of his social disabilities, his religious prejudices, and his spiritual poverty. If we could tolerate dirt, we can tolerate pride; if we could shut our eyes to revolting habits, we can overlook caste prejudice; if we could sympathise with material poverty, we can equally sympathise with spiritual. Christian love and Christian instruction will do the same work of emancipation in the one case, as it is doing in the other. We received the outcaste population *as it was*; we must receive the caste community *as it is*. We must, in the one case as in the other, relegate the questions of baptism and social improvement to a later stage, when the spirit of Christ will accom-

plish with ease, what we only accomplish in a few cases with extreme difficulty, and often with very doubtful results.

While a certain amount of sympathy may possibly be felt for the views here expressed, the objection will arise that we are dealing with pleasant theories rather than with stubborn facts, with hypothetical cases and not with concrete illustrations. How do you propose, it will be asked, to induce these very desirable mass-movements amongst the caste community? What new methods do you suggest? In reply it should first be pointed out that it is not a question of new methods, but of a new attitude. As long as individual conversions occupy the position of supreme concern, as long as baptism is the one door of admission to Christianity which faces the Hindu, so long will the possibility of any mass-movement amongst the caste community be delayed. As soon as that attitude has been abandoned, and the change is recognised by the Hindu, the question of inducing mass-movements will give place to the question of coping with them. Our present duty is to seek to remove the impression which is universal amongst the caste people, that the missionary is the great caste-destroyer, that his supreme concern is to baptize. At present there is hardly a single aspect of our varied work which is not viewed with suspicion by the Hindu. To him the sole object of our schools is to make

converts; the chief object of our hospitals is to proselytise; the great reason for our industrial and social work is to feed and clothe the people and the children of the people, whom we have cut off from that old social environment in which they were amply provided for. Our interest in education is merely assumed; our concern for the suffering is merely a disguise which hides the real motive underlying it, which is simply to capture and convert.

To what extent this is a real misrepresentation it would be extremely difficult to explain. Many of the home supporters might express it a little differently, but the general effect would be the same, and the Hindu at any rate would regard it as a distinction without a difference. From the older standpoint of theological belief it is difficult to see how any of these forms of work can be justified, except on the plea that the end justifies the means; and it must be frankly admitted that the results, in the shape of individual conversions, are hardly proportionate to the cost. From the newer standpoint they all stand justified on their own intrinsic merits, and their expense is one of the most economical uses to which the contributions of the churches can be put. If we are working for the establishment of an empire of Christ in India, then our educational and philanthropic efforts need no justification. Every school, even though it never produces a single convert, is

moulding the Christian citizenship of the future; every hospital is incarnating its imperial ideals, and discharging its municipal responsibilities.

This altered attitude brings all our present methods into true perspective, and opens up a vista of possibilities down which we gaze in admiring wonder. There is work in empire-building, before which the work of proselytising shrinks into a well-deserved insignificance. It is work in which every Christian man in India, whatever his occupation, is of necessity engaged, and into which he can put his best efforts and his whole soul, without in the slightest degree feeling that he is transgressing against that perfect religious neutrality for which the Government of India has rightly stood. There is not a civil servant but who, by infusing a Christian spirit and a Christian thoroughness into all his work, can thereby, and indeed is thereby, laying broad and deep the foundations of the empire that is yet to be. There is not a Christian merchant, or manufacturer, or artisan, who cannot in the same way co-operate in the extension of the empire of Christ. If new methods are called for, if fresh reinforcements are wanted, let us look at these and similar ways in which we can co-operate with Christ in founding His great empire in the East.

It may be advisable to say a few words on the relation of such a missionary propaganda as has been here outlined, to the question of the final

extinction of the caste spirit, and of the future of the Indian Church. It may be feared that this ignoring of caste will be fatal to its abolition. To its premature and forced abolition it is undoubtedly fatal, but to its final disappearance it will just as assuredly contribute. There is a parallel between the relation of Christianity to slavery and its relation to caste, which is worthy of consideration. In modern days and amongst unfriendly critics, it has been urged as a reproach against early Christianity that it made no efforts to liberate the slave, but tolerated, even if it did not sanction, a grave social injustice. It is at least suggestive that amongst the same people it is the intolerance of the missionary in regard to caste, and the efforts he makes to combat it, which are frequently just as much denounced as the evidence of bigotry and narrow-mindedness. Now it has been pointed out that as regards slavery, the Christian Church, consciously or unconsciously, adopted the only sound method for securing its abolition by impregnating the world with truer conceptions of the relation of man to man, and creating an atmosphere of truer social instincts in which slavery became an impossibility. We are not here concerned with the perfectly true charge, that in comparatively modern times slavery was defended and supported by a section at least of the Christian Church, and even a religious sanction claimed for it. We are dealing with the

evolution of Christian sentiment as history reveals it; and history shows that the reformation of social injustice advances *pari passu* with the growth of truer and deeper social instincts, and that the former must wait for the latter. The external must correspond with the internal, the outer organisation of society must be, and ever will be, the expression of the inner social feeling.

Caste will pass away from India when India is ready for it, and not before. The renunciation of caste by individual Hindus will not, and cannot abolish caste; and no one realises this more truly than the individual Hindu. Its abolition will be effected by the general absorption of a freer and broader spirit. We may induce a Hindu convert to have social intercourse with his fellow-Christian of another caste, but we have not thereby induced him to entertain brotherly feelings for his fellow. Let the brotherly feeling once exist, and there will be no difficulty about social intercourse. The Western Church has nothing to do with abolishing Eastern social customs; that is the work of the Eastern Church. As missionaries we have to develop the Christian life and infuse the Christian spirit into India, and leave the Christian life and the Christian spirit to deal with Indian social problems. This is what is meant by the remark that we must have no baptism outside, and no caste within the Church. Both are matters which concern, not the missionary propaganda, but the

Indian Church. It is ours to advise, and guide, and counsel, but it is not ours to rule, and regulate, and impose, either creed or constitution on the Indian Church. We are missionaries, not pastors; evangelists, not apostles; servants, not masters. We may be so intent on the future of the Indian Christian Church, that we may throw into the background the future of the Indian Christian Empire. Ours is the work of securing a congregation; it is the work of the congregation to build the church. In no thoughtless or indifferent spirit, but in the spirit of a buoyant faith, we may say, Leave the future of the Indian Church to take care of itself.

The Spirit of Christ will always lead His people into the full truth. Our present efforts may succeed in constructing a nursery from which all caste distinctions are carefully excluded, but our children will have to go to school and to work in the outside world; and in the school and the work of the outer world they will have to deal with their own problems, and find their own solutions. We can best help the Indian Church of the future by impregnating the Hindu with the Christian spirit, and that spirit is something more than either regard or disregard of meat and drink and social etiquette. Amongst the outcaste population, the Spirit of Christ has done more towards the abolition of uncleanly and degrading habits than excommunication and the

imposition of fines; and the way has been prepared for the Spirit by the free acceptance of the outcaste with all his dirt and all his degradation. Let us give the same opportunity to the caste Hindu as we have given to the outcaste, by associating him with us and ourselves with him, without demanding that exclusion from his social environment which baptism and the renunciation of caste involve. The new attitude will take time to make its impression felt; but if we set ourselves earnestly to the task, that new attitude will result in the same mass-movement towards Christianity which has manifested itself amongst the outcaste population, for it is a movement which is on true Hindu lines.

It is possible, and indeed almost inevitable, that the views which have here been set forth may not only be resented, but be extremely painful to many who are labouring for the Christ Who is to all of us alike, the one Lord whose will it is our earnest desire to do. They may feel that the value of a single soul has been entirely overlooked, and that its destiny for weal or woe has been totally forgotten. To them it is the present generation, the one and only chance, the awful fate of the unsaved, which stand forth in terrible distinctness and claim immediate attention. They feel as keenly, and perhaps more keenly, the burden of their responsibility, and shrink from the pain and anguish which their loyalty to Christ compels them

unwillingly to inflict on the parents, and children, and relatives, of the Hindu convert, but they can do no other. Not a single word of this chapter has been written without a sympathetic appreciation of their position, nor is a single line intended to cause them pain. Their standpoint however, is not that of the writer, nor does he so interpret the Master's commission. To him it is the priceless value of the soul of a people, the glorious future of a vast empire, and the divinely appointed destiny of a great nation, which stand forth with equal distinctness. He is content to trust with perfect confidence the future of the individual in the great beyond, to the All-Father, without whose will not a sparrow falls to the ground, and in whose vast purposes, the race and not the individual, occupies the supreme place. From the older standpoint there can be nothing but repudiation of these views, for by that older standpoint they are self-condemned. No attempt has been made to justify the new or pass judgment upon the old. Both standpoints exist, and the views we obtain from them must be different. All that the writer asks is that he may be credited with the same sincerity, and the same loyalty to the common cause, as he unreservedly accords to those who still occupy the old standpoint.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHURCH'S RESOURCES

If the nature of the Church's task has been at all adequately set forth, it will be evident that the altered standpoint from which the missionary enterprise has been looked at abroad, involves an equal alteration in the standpoint from which it is regarded at home. There must be some correspondence between our conception of the nature of the task, and our conception of the nature of the resources required to meet the task. The Church which is engaged in building an empire needs resources within it, which shall be sufficient for the demands which empire-building makes. To any one who has thoughtfully considered the sketch which has here been outlined of the real task in the East which confronts the Church in the West, it must be very clear that the enterprise upon which the Church embarked a century ago, is one which demands much greater resources than she anticipated, and that it has developed into an enterprise which must be abandoned if those resources are not forthcoming. The question of

supreme importance, therefore, is whether the Western Church is equal to her Eastern task. The newer standpoint is the Pisgah from which we view that land of promise which our fathers set forth to possess, but which their eyes could not behold. To us, their children, it stretches out in panoramic view, a goodly land and pleasant, a land flowing with milk and honey ; but the question arises, Are we equal to the task of possessing it? Is the work too much for us? It is in no faint-hearted tones that the question is asked, but with the deep conviction that we must first count the cost before we essay the task.

One consideration, the lowest and the most selfish, may at least be stated before we pass on to the crossing of Jordan ; and that is, that behind us is the wilderness of a stagnant and moribund religious life, strewn with the bleached bones of those who have perished of unbelief. If the Christian West does not establish an empire of Christ in the East, the non-Christian East will establish an anti-Christian empire in the West. East and West have already come into touch with one another, the scouts have already exchanged shots, and the world's greatest conflict is hourly growing more imminent. There can be but one issue—the strongest life will prevail. If faith cannot be transmuted into life in the West, the religious element may be left out of account. It is not creed which has to be balanced against creed, nor

science against superstition, nor colour against colour, but it is life against life. Let us make no mistake as to the signs of the times, and the reality of the conflict which is rapidly approaching. Our spies have already reported that there are giants in the land, and the "yellow peril" is no figment of the imagination. Against Eastern quantity we have nothing to set save Western quality, and the whole issue turns upon the superiority of that quality. The Christian's only hope is the vitality of that more abundant life which has come to us through Christ. We stand still now at our peril, for it is not a past bondage which threatens us, but an annihilation which confronts us. If we would see the salvation of the Lord, we must go forward to save in the name and power of the Lord.

The reality of this question of resources is one which manifests itself even apart from any enlarged conception of the task, such as we have here attempted; and it may be well for us to look at it first in the particular form in which it is at present conspicuous. The prevailing note which characterises almost every report of the great missionary societies is the insufficiency of funds. The work abroad, we are told, expands at a greater rate than the income increases at home, with the result that year by year huge deficits are reported, to extinguish which special appeals and the most strenuous efforts have to be made. The

administrators are divided into two parties on the question of what is called sound policy. On the one hand there are those who advocate faith as opposed to business, and urge the prosecution of the work in the belief that the needed funds will be forthcoming. On the other hand there are those who believe that the limit of our available resources has been reached, and accordingly urge the absolute necessity of curtailing our work. It will be seen therefore that the actual home problem is due not to any altered conception of the nature of the task, but to the prosecution of the task we have undertaken and are carrying out, whether looked at from the new or from the old standpoint. The problem, that is, is not a merely theoretical one based upon ideals; it is a practical one based upon the actual facts of the work, and dealing with very material pounds, shillings, and pence. We have so much money, says the business man, and we can do so much work. Faith will not multiply the actual coins which come into our hands; and it is the actual coin that we need if we are to meet the very actual expense we incur. We have so much work, says the man of faith, and we must therefore expect so much money to carry it on. According to our faith it will be unto us. We cannot multiply the coins, but we can increase the interest, and the increased interest will bring in the increased funds.

Attention is here called to the home problem

as stated in terms of finance, because, although it is only a partial view of the real problem, and like all partial views, throws the emphasis on the wrong place, it is the view which is apparent, and the view which is receiving all the attention. We are told that our present difficulties are the result of our success, and that the more success we meet with, the more demands must be made upon our purses. The incongruity of this statement, when made in terms of finance, is apparently not seen, or if seen it is ignored. We have the remarkable spectacle of the establishment of prayer unions beseeching God for more success, side by side with the recognition of our utter inability to provide for the success He has already granted. We have the realisation on the one hand that we are at present unequal to the task that has been given us, and on the other the most earnest entreaty for a still greater task. We send up a prayer to heaven for more work, and we send out a message to the field announcing a reduction of grants. We should be dumbfounded if we received a request from the field asking us to reduce our prayers, on the ground that they were quite unequal to provide for the answers already granted.

There is another anomaly which manifests itself when the problem is looked at from the financial side alone, the anomaly of the absence of what we call self-support. It may perhaps be explained

to the business mind, on the ground that we are expending capital, and that the further we sink our shaft the more money we require. The question however then arises, and is indeed asked, whether we have chosen the best site, and whether we are working in the most economical and efficient way. These curious anomalies are here stated in the baldest terms, because it is desirable to point out that the problem cannot even be perceived from the business point of view, and cannot be stated in terms of finance. We need a re-statement of the Church's missionary obligations, quite as much as we need a fresh conception of the Church's task. The inadequacy of the one is quite as real as that of the other. If the evangelisation of the world is a truer conception than that of mere proselytism, the conception of the Church's responsibilities must deepen into something very much more than a mere "interest" in foreign missions, and her efforts must be something more than the purely superficial attempts to keep up that interest by the spectacular attractions and displays which may momentarily arrest the eye, but never stir the heart of her people.

If missionary work has to depend upon its power of keeping up such an interest, its day is past and its adequate support is a pure mirage. The experience of the missionary student who was once engaged upon this important effort to keep up the interest is both significant and suggestive.

He was exhibiting lantern slides descriptive of missionary work in the South Seas, to an audience of juveniles, who must long since have passed into adults, and who are in still greater need of having their interest kept up. After numerous slides had been shown setting forth the conditions and environment of the missionary's life, one depicting in graphic detail the tragic death of John Williams at the hands of the savages of Erromanga was thrown upon the screen. The interest, which had been conspicuous by its absence up to this point, suddenly manifested itself in vociferous cheers and screams of delight, as it leapt at a bound to its full height, but the subsequent proceedings interested them no more. Missionary work carried on by means of the interest it is capable of arousing, may be carried on at too great a cost,—at least to the missionary. So tragic and sensational a death may only be needed to keep up the interest of the children, but a simple death from overwork and inadequate support may still be occasionally required to keep up the interest of our congregations.

Let it be said at once, and as emphatically as possible, that such mere "interest" is not worth keeping up, and the sooner it dies of starvation the better, both for the churches at home and the missionary abroad. It is not interest but passion, the passion that comes from deep living and high thinking, that the Church needs. The problem is not the financial one of an increasing expenditure

and an unequally progressive income; it is the problem, far more serious and grave, *of a national life which is unequal to its imperial expansion.* It is not a case for the administration of stimulants to call forth increased interest, it is a case for richer food and more of it. The one will only end in a collapse which will be fatal, the other will produce a revival which is a revival indeed.

Let us see how the matter looks when we view it from the new standpoint, and the real home problem will emerge in its true proportions, and will express itself in a more correct terminology than either strict business or unreasonable faith can furnish. From the newer standpoint, the Church is engaged in the great task of empire-building. The supreme question therefore, is not one which concerns itself with material resources, geographical position, or numerical strength, but chiefly, if not entirely, with mental, and moral, and spiritual character. It is not England's wealth which has made her the greatest empire-builder of the world, it is her blood, and brain, and brawn. Her expansion has not been the draining of her reservoirs, it has been the overflowing of the river of her vitality. She is herself not the poorer for the lavish contributions she has made to the life of the world; she is to-day the wealthiest nation at home, as she is the most dominant nation abroad. She has carried on side by side imperial expansion and national well-being.

The problem which is confronting us in the Church, is that of an expansion abroad which has outpaced her reformation at home. If the religious life at home had deepened and widened equally with the extension abroad, we should never have heard a word of financial embarrassment or of decreasing interest. The churches are financially not poorer but immensely wealthier than they ever were before; the people outside the churches have more money than they know what to do with. To Christian England, a pound is hardly what a penny was a century ago; but to the England of to-day, Christianity does not occupy the position of influence it occupied a century ago. With the fathers' theology the children have largely ceased to concern themselves, and the support of the work which that theology initiated, has been left to the few who have remained at home within the Church, while the many either have homes of their own, in the shape of other interests, or have sunk into the ranks of the great army of spiritual vagrants. The Church, as a Church, is giving far more liberally to the support of the work than she ever gave, but the work is making much greater demands. The financial difficulty will not be met by increasing appeals to those within the Church who are already doing their utmost, *but by bringing those who are outside within reach of the appeals.* It is not that the children who have remained at home are less

liberal than their fathers, it is that so many are no longer at home. The Church, instead of seeking a sphere for the overflow of its exuberant vitality, is suffering from a most serious leakage which is draining its life. The call of empire is addressed to a nation which is struggling for national existence. Lack of money is but a symptom, the most apparent but the least serious, of a spiritual anæmia. It is not rouge but blood that is wanted, not money but bread.

That which strikes the missionary returning from abroad after a lengthened absence, is the evidence on the one hand of an enormous increase of wealth, coupled with a far more extensive diffusion of wealth; and on the other hand a serious decrease of religious vitality, and a far more confined area of religious influence. For every shilling that was spent twenty or thirty years ago, a sovereign is spent to-day; and for every man who looked and thought twice before he spent a penny, there are a dozen who spend a shilling now, without even looking once or thinking at all. There is more money spent in watching a football match on a Saturday afternoon, and spent by the ordinary working man, than the same class spent in amusements in a whole year thirty years ago. This at any rate is the impression, whether the actual figures would support that impression or not. On the other hand he sees far more evidence of the Church in the street, in the shape of an increased

clerical army, but far less evidence of the street in the Church. Over and over again he misses from the congregation the faces he was familiar with in the Sunday School, and on inquiry he finds that they have drifted away from all attachment to any religious organisation whatever, and have frequently ceased to attend any place of worship at all. The majority of these are by no means either irreligious or indifferent to the higher and deeper aspects of life, but they are completely out of harmony with the religious thought and expression of the average religious denomination, and they are too honest merely to keep up appearances.

We are not here concerned with the reasons for this condition of things, nor are we anxious either to justify the churches or to condemn those who are without. We are simply calling attention to the facts as they are. Side by side with the wealth on the one hand, we have a poverty on the other; an expansion in the influence of Christianity abroad, a contraction of its influence at home. No invidious comparison is instituted, nor is any reflection intended. Modern life at home has been making demands upon the religious thought and feeling of the Church, which has undoubtedly been greater than she has been able to deal with. The demand however, when rightly interpreted, is not the demand for *less*, but for more religious life; and the demand will undoubtedly call forth

the supply. The Church will in time furnish that deeper thought and that wider application of her faith to the problems of life, for which the modern mind is seeking and the modern heart is yearning.

In the meantime it is no use shutting our eyes to the fact that the vitality of the Church is at a low ebb, and that her pulse is both slow and feeble. No request for mere stimulants in the shape of sensationalism, nor any entreaty to be allowed to have more exercise of the muscles, should be listened to for a moment. The case is one for food that can be assimilated, and meat that can be digested. If the old theology has proved defective, the new theology must prove effective, or men will have neither the one nor the other. The world is clamouring for life and not for death, for more religion not for less, for deeper not for shallower thought, for broader and not for narrower feeling. If Christianity can be translated into religious thought which is living thinking, and into practical life which is real living, the present anæmia will give place to an overflowing vitality, more than equal to its life at home and its work abroad.

The nature of the work abroad demands this richer and fuller life, quite as much as the religious condition of the people demands it at home. There is hardly a single missionary who does not feel the contrast between what he has to say of his work abroad, and what he is expected to say of it by the

churches at home. He has met with countless failures, of which he would like to say much, but is expected so say nothing. He has met with a little success, of which he would prefer to say little, but is expected to say much. His life has been one of weary plodding; he is expected to speak of it as one of brilliant achievement. His has been the exhausting task of ploughing, and sowing, and weeding, during the heat and burden of the day; and he is expected to speak of nothing but fields white unto harvest, and golden grain garnered with shouts of harvest home. He comes home, it may be, weary and spent, in direst need of fresh inspiration, and he is greeted everywhere with the request to stir up the enthusiasm of the churches and re-kindle the missionary zeal, which has sunk to zero since last year's meeting, when the missionary was "so depressing and uninteresting." He is invalided home, not physically but spiritually, as the result of years of contact with the souls sick unto death, who have crowded round him and drawn virtue out of him; and he is at once set to work to pay his round of visits, sometimes to wealthy patients, whose complaints for the most part are due to overfeeding and underworking. He is the "handy man" of the services, and therefore, in addition to these other and matter-of-course duties which await him, we have recently invented another, and expect him to dress up and amuse the children at demonstrations, and act as

showman at the exhibitions we have introduced to keep up this all-important interest of the churches.

There is, of course, a right place for these things, but they should be kept in their place. The interest of the child is childlike, but the mere interest of the adult is childish. Let us have "interest" in the Sunday School, *but let us have passion in the Church.* We must expect more from the Church than an interest in that work of redemption for which the Christ, whose followers we are, endured the agony of a Gethsemane and the heart-break of a Calvary. The Master went to His death amidst apparent failure and defeat, content to foresee the result of that travail of His soul which should satisfy. Must it be said that His Church can only carry on His work as she sees successes carefully tabulated into statistics, which will enable her to work out the ratio between souls saved and guineas subscribed? Can the work which was initiated by the *passion* of the Christ, only be carried on as it appeals to the *interest* of the Church? From such a standpoint foreign missions are undoubtedly a failure, and the sooner the fact is admitted the better.

Missionary work is not *business* at all, but empire-building; and it demands imperial ideas and imperial resources of brain and heart in the Church that would carry it on. Most of our missionaries are navvies and bricklayers, excellent workers but poor talkers, especially when the talk

is expected to be of achievements anticipated, rather than of work actually done. They are navvies and bricklayers however, with imperial ideas, able to look at their work from the imperial standpoint, and to speak of it to an audience with imperial instincts. If the enterprise is truly to be represented to the churches at home, we need picked men and picked audiences, not any man and any audience. There are some missionaries who should never speak save to a carefully selected and imperially educated audience, able to follow their imperial ideas and appreciate the empire-building work in which they are engaged. There are still a greater number of audiences who should never hear a missionary at all, but only speakers who can arouse imperial instincts both by the passion with which they themselves feel them, and the eloquence with which they can express them. Under our present system, or lack of system, we have numerous instances of missionaries attempting the impossible task of addressing audiences who cannot understand either their thought or their language, and of chairmen and chief speakers expounding a subject which they have never studied, and advocating a cause with whose deepest aspects they have hardly any acquaintance and very little sympathy. The result is that the missionary meeting is a dismal failure, and even the interest is not kept up. Is it not time that the fallacy of the necessity of keeping up such interest, and of the

equal necessity of having a live missionary to do it, were given up? It is not any missionary who happens to be alive and at home, who is able to interest an audience, or has anything merely interesting to say; and it is not any home speaker who happens to be lively, who is able to evoke that true Christian imperialism which all our audiences need.

The work to be done in the churches on behalf of the missionary cause is of two distinct kinds, for which special men with distinct qualifications are urgently wanted. We need, in the first place, to create imperial instincts; and in the second place to satisfy those imperial instincts with true and accurate accounts of the nature and progress of empire-building. In the prosecution of this work there is abundant scope both for the home advocate and the foreign expounder. Vigorously and wisely undertaken, this work would be of untold blessing to the churches. Their life would be so enriched, that the increased vitality would be equal to the demands made upon it, both for extension abroad and expansion at home. The contrasted and often opposed conceptions of home and foreign missions would disappear, for both would equally benefit. This work however must not be left to a spasmodic effort once or twice a year. Our preachers must be political speakers, dealing with the higher politics of the kingdom of God and of the empire of Christ. They have to create, not merely an

interest in politics, but the passion for political reform, the enthusiasm for imperial expansion. We want not merely great conventions for the deepening of the spiritual life of the individual, but great mass meetings for the broadening and heightening of the spiritual life of the Church. In this truer and deeper political life of the empire of Christ, both our home and foreign missions would occupy a perfectly natural place. The same platform should set forth, and the same audience should hear, both of reform at home and extension abroad.

If the true imperial aspect of the missionary enterprise is to be correctly represented at home, the modern missionary must be able to feel in reporting on the progress of his work and of the cause, that the Church is no longer prepared to follow David in the importance he attached to statistics. If modern theological thought fails to see the *sin* which David committed in numbering the children of Israel, it must at least see the folly he wrought, and the legacy of evil he bequeathed to his successors. The numbering was no doubt interesting to David, but it was fatal to the kingdom. The statistics of foreign missions may similarly be interesting to the Church at home, but they are no less fatal to the empire of Christ abroad. They put the emphasis on the individual convert, not on the people to be evangelised; on the momentary result rather than on

the permanent influence ; on the present actuality rather than on the future possibility. They tend to the rejection of all methods and measures save those which promise immediate, visible, and tangible results. They encourage an element in the work which is akin to, if not identical with, mere proselytism, rather than that element which is the very life and soul of a true evangelisation. However much their real value may be discounted at home, the demand for their production is an unmixed evil abroad ; and in the interests of sound work abroad they should be abolished, whatever may happen to the interest at home.

A similar though not as absolute a stricture might be passed upon the usual stereotyped reports expected from the field. These are more or less dominated by the statistical spirit, as they are disfigured by the statistical tables which they contain. A report should be given, only when there is really a report to give ; should be written, only when there is some one who can really write ; and read, only by those who can really read. History must be made before it is written ; and it is not made every year, in every station, by every missionary. A year that is uneventful does not need a chronicler ; and a missionary, like other people, may be a good writer but a poor historian. Anecdotes are not fictitious, but they should be classified as fiction rather than history. Fiction is doubtless more interesting, but history is far

more informing. There is room for both, but we should discriminate between them. Let us have the fiction in the magazine, but let us have history, when there is any, in the report.

When the present interest in missionary work has been replaced by a deep sense of imperial responsibility, and a passionate enthusiasm to take up the Christ-Man's burden, the mere question of finance will sink into insignificance before the larger and far more serious question of vital resources. It is not so much increased liberality at home and increased funds abroad which are demanded, as richer thought and feeling at home and a newer and more varied organisation abroad. At present to the interest which is too superficial, and to the theological outlook which is too contracted, many of the measures and much of the policy abroad are rather tolerated and apologised for, than recognised and encouraged. The great empire-building work of education may be taken as an illustration of this remark. It is not so very long ago that education as a mission agency was vehemently opposed, and the men engaged in it denounced almost as deserters of the cause. Even to-day, by many of the societies, it is little more than tolerated, and defended almost entirely on the ground of the individual conversions it can add to the statistical tables.

In the same way, though to a less degree, almost every form of missionary organisation,

other than that of direct preaching, is regarded with more or less of suspicion at home, and has to be indirectly defended from abroad. The direct preaching of the Gospel appeals to the thought and feeling of the home churches, very much as a frontal attack appeals to the military mind. It would be an immense gain to the enterprise, if we could eliminate both from our thought and our practice, military figures of speech and military methods of work. It may be well for us to remember that we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but only against spiritual wickedness. Our warfare is not carnal but spiritual, and our work is not military but civil. Our modern and more humane conception of empire-building furnishes us with a far better figure of speech than the older metaphor derived from mere fighting.

In Egypt we have an illustration which is as suggestive as it is forcible. A few years ago we attempted in that land what we called the conquest of the Soudan, and we began very literally with military operations. We had our isolated garrisons to overawe and keep in check the wild and restless hordes who threatened the stability of our rule, and wrought havoc and confusion among the loyal subjects of the Khedive. The garrisons were a failure, and disaster followed disaster until the final one which saw the death of the heroic Gordon and the abandonment for the time being of the Soudan. We then felt that neither the half

measures we had employed nor the abandonment to which we had consented would solve the problem which confronted us, and that the conquest of the Soudan and the quiet of Egypt could only be secured by a great military expedition. Lord Kitchener was accordingly entrusted with the great work of training and disciplining the Egyptian army, and that work culminated in the crushing defeat of the Mahdi's forces at Omdurman. The military conception was a great one, and was carried out by a military genius with adequate resources at his command. The real conquest of the Soudan however, was not secured by the victory at Omdurman. The hordes were defeated, but they were not subdued. That which is the real conquest of the Soudan is typified by the civil engineering triumph at Assouan. The harnessing of the Nile, for making the desert and the solitary place to rejoice and blossom as the rose, is the true because it is the permanent conquest of the Soudan, and secures the lasting peace and increasing prosperity of Egypt. The peaceful and practical work of empire-building is more potent in its effects, and more permanent in its results, than the most brilliant military campaign. The cotton of the contented farmer is a greater guarantee for the peace of Egypt than all the gun-cotton of England's artillery. Nile water represents truer wealth than French and English gold.

The application of the parable to the missionary enterprise of the Church is not difficult to see, in the light of that truer conception of empire-building which it has been the object of this book to emphasise. We have had, and still have in the mission-field, our isolated garrisons and our heroic Gordons; we have had, and we still have, our fighting native army and our indomitable Kitcheners; what we need is our Cromers and that magnificent civil army which have transformed a desert into a garden, and transformed it by making use of that river of life which was all along waiting to be utilised. The Hindu religious nature is a veritable Nile, which waits only for the skill which can direct and the energy which can utilise, to transform India into the richest province of the Empire of Christ. She looks to the Church of the West for the sympathy that can understand and the love that can undertake, and she will not look in vain. Let the vision of empire take the place of the vision of conquest, and the Church will find that in the richer and deeper life which results, there are resources equal to her task, and that the men and the money will not be lacking.

APPENDIX

PAUL AND THE IMPERIAL IDEAL

ANY ONE who is acquainted with Sir William M. Ramsay's deeply interesting and suggestive essay on Paul's statesmanship, will doubtless be struck by the similarity between the position of the great missionary of the first century in the Roman Empire, and the position of the twentieth-century missionary in the Indian Empire. Paul was both a Jew and a Roman citizen, and the relations he sustained to the religious exclusiveness characteristic of the one, and to the political imperialism distinctive of the other, are alike evident in the records which have come down to us. As a Roman citizen he was deeply sensitive to the imperial ideal. He saw however that Christianity offered a grander and wider scope for the development of that ideal than the politics of his day provided, and he consecrated his life to the realisation of a Christian imperialism to which his genius gave birth. He took no part in the politics of his day, because the higher politics of the kingdom of heaven absorbed all his interest. The Roman ideal of empire was to him imperfect and transitory, the Christian ideal was complete and permanent. The Roman ideal however was one which deeply influenced his missionary propaganda. He worked alongside, though on a higher plane than that of

the political ideal, and therefore he never came into conflict with it. His Christian imperialism, on the other hand, brought him into the sharpest conflict with the religious exclusiveness of the Jew, and this conflict is a marked feature of the records we possess of his life-work. It was so distinctively the question of his day that it has thrown into the background, if it has not buried in oblivion, whatever work he attempted amongst purely Gentile nations. His life-long conflict with the Judaising teachers, together with the presence of numbers of proselytes, apparently arrested his efforts amongst pure Gentiles, and compelled him to work almost exclusively amongst Jews and Jewish proselytes. His address on Mars Hill however, makes us long to know more of him as a missionary to pure Gentiles. The conflict with religious exclusiveness was inevitable, and his superb defence of the larger faith has been of untold value to the Church. It is unfortunate however, that in the records we have so little of Paul's attitude to purely Gentile religious ideas and social customs. There is enough, nevertheless, to enable us to realise the spirit at least in which he dealt with them. His broad-minded tolerance and his large-hearted sympathy are great object-lessons for the Indian missionary. In the twentieth century we are confronted with much the same problem as that which met the great Apostle. There is an imperial ideal working itself out in India in this twentieth century, to which the English missionary must be as sensitive as the Roman citizen was to the Roman ideal. As a missionary however, the modern Englishman cannot fail to realise with Paul, that the imperial ideal needs for its full fruition the working of "the spirit of life in Christ Jesus." There is also a religious exclusiveness, little removed from that of the Judaising teachers of Paul's days, to

which we must give place, no, not for an hour. The bondage of Western dogma may be as injurious to the Eastern Church, as the bondage of Judaism was seen to be to the Gentile Church of the Apostle's day. The breaking of caste may be regarded as of as much importance as abstinence from meats offered to idols. In dealing with the nations which make up the Indian Empire of to-day, we need the Apostle's consummate statesmanship, his large-hearted sympathy, and his wide tolerance, for we are heirs with him of the same imperial ideal.

THE END

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